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ART. I.—*Navarrete's Life of Cervantes.*

Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, escrita e ilustrada con varias noticias y documentos ineditos pertenecientes a la historia y literatura de su tiempo, por D. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete. Madrid, 1819. 1 vol. 8vo.

Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, with Illustrations from unpublished Manuscripts relating to the History and Literature of his time.

CERVANTES in his lifetime was neglected by his countrymen, and the grave had long closed over him, before they became so far sensible of the lustre which they derived from his genius, as to collect with care the scanty materials for his biography.

The English accounts of him are meagre. The best which we have seen is the one by Lockhart, prefixed to the edition of Motteux's translation of Don Quixote, printed at Edinburgh in 1822.

In the year 1819, Navarrete, a Spanish scholar, well known for the light which he has thrown on the life and labors of Columbus, and the early history of Spanish maritime discovery, published at Madrid a new life of his illustrious countryman, accompanied with many documents, never before printed, which serve to illustrate various passages in his history. As

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this account has not been translated, we have thought that a notice of it might not be uninteresting to our readers.

Cervantes was born in Alcala de Henares, of a noble but poor family, and was the youngest of four children. Navarrete does not fix precisely the date of his birth. His parents were married in 1540 and his baptism took place in October 1547, so that he was probably born in that year. From early youth he manifested a strong inclination towards poetry and works of invention, great application, and so much curiosity that he was in the habit of reading the scraps of paper which he found in the streets. He had also a great fondness for the theatre. He studied grammar and polite letters under a respectable ecclesiastic named Juan Lopez de Hoyos, who, being employed to assist in the composition of the allegories, hieroglyphics, and inscriptions, to be placed in the church where the obsequies of the queen Isabella de Valois were to be celebrated in October, 1568, called in the aid of his pupils, among whose compositions those of Cervantes were distinguished. As Juan Lopez did not come to Madrid till January, 1568, when Cervantes was above twenty years old, the latter must have previously studied under some other master, or in some other place, and in fact it is known that he did study two years at Salamanca. At the time of the death of Queen Isabella, when Cervantes was in Madrid, an envoy from the court of Rome, named Julio Aquaviva y Aragon, son of the Duke of Atri, arrived in the same city, bearing a message of condolence to Philip II., on the occasion of the death of his son Don Carlos. This envoy is described as fond of men of letters; and since Cervantes mentions having been in his service in Rome as *valet de chambre*, it is probable that he became acquainted with him on the occasion of his mission to Madrid, and being admitted into his family at that time, accompanied him to Italy.

Cervantes did not remain long in this situation, for, in the following year, we find him a private soldier in the Spanish troops in Italy. He soon had an opportunity to distinguish himself, for the Grand Turk Selim II., in violation of his treaties with Venice, having invaded the island of Cyprus, which belonged to that power, during a period of profound peace, the Venetians implored the aid of the Christian princes, especially of the Pope, Pius V., who immediately prepared his galleys for service, under the command of Marco Antonio Colonna, Duke of Paliano. The papal fleet, having

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formed a junction with the fleets of Spain and Venice, entered the waters of the Levant in the summer of 1570, with the view of restraining the progress of the Turks; but, owing to the disputes and indecision of the commanders of the confederated forces, the Turks were allowed to take Nicosia by assault, the season passed without Cyprus being relieved, and the armaments, having suffered much from tempests, were obliged to retire into their respective ports. Cervantes served during the expedition as a private soldier, under the command of Colonna, probably on board of one of the galleys of Naples, in which city he passed the winter after the return of the expedition.

The court of Rome now united the various princes of Europe against the Turks, and on the 20th of May, 1571, the celebrated League was concluded between the Pope, the king of Spain and the State of Venice. Don John of Austria, natural son of Charles V., was appointed commander in chief of the fleets and armies of the confederacy. The forces, both military and naval, were immediately assembled at Messina. On the 15th of September the allied fleets set sail. After relieving Corfu, they fell in with the Turkish armada on the morning of October the 7th, in the neighborhood of Lepanto.

At this time, Cervantes being ill of a fever, his captain and comrades urged him not to take part in the action, but he answered that he would rather die fighting for God and his king, than remain under cover to preserve his life at the expense of his honor. He then requested the captain to place him in the post of most danger. His wish was granted, and the example of his courage so animated the other soldiers in the galley that they alone killed five hundred Turks, among whom was the commander of the flag ship of Alexandria, and took the royal standard of Egypt. Cervantes received in this action three gunshot wounds, two in the back and one in the left hand, (in consequence of the last, his left arm was disabled for life,) and contributed his full share to the complete victory of the Christians. He was accustomed ever after to speak of this battle as exceeding in glory all others, past, present or to come, and to declare that he considered his participation in it cheaply purchased at the price of his wounds.

These wounds detained him at Messina until the end of April, 1572, when he joined the forces under the command of Colonna, and served in the Levant during the operations of that year. In the winter the Spanish forces remained in Messina,

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and preparations were made for the campaign of the next spring. The Venetians having concluded a separate treaty with the Porte in March, 1573, the plans of the confederates were changed, and an expedition against Tunis was resolved upon. On the 24th of September, the ships sailed from Palermo, with twenty thousand men on board, among whom was Cervantes. The troops disembarked on the 8th and 9th of October, and Tunis was immediately abandoned to them. Don John returned to Spain, leaving a garrison in the city. After his departure, the Turks collected a large army to recapture the place. The ships which Don John despatched to aid the garrison were driven off the coast by storms, and he met with a similar fate when he went in person to relieve the place, being obliged to seek shelter in the ports of Sicily from the violence of the hurricanes. Meanwhile Tunis was taken, and Don John returned to Naples. Cervantes remained with his fellow soldiers in Sicily, till the summer of 1575, when he obtained permission to revisit his country.

During the period of his service, Cervantes had visited the principal cities of Italy,—Genoa, Lucca, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Messina, Ancona, Venice, Ferrara, Parma, Placentia, and Milan,—of which he has given beautiful and accurate descriptions in his works. Italy was long the emporium of science, art and literature, owing to the influence of the Greek scholars, who had taken shelter there after the fall of Constantinople. The Spaniards, who held dominion over many of its states, maintained a frequent communication with the natives. Some of them resorted to Rome to obtain benefices, some to study at the university of Bologna, founded expressly for Spaniards by Cardinal Albornoz, some to serve in the garrisons and armies, and some to obtain the patronage of the viceroys, in the paths of jurisprudence or public life. Many Italians, on the other hand, went to Spain to visit the metropolis of their government, to enter into the service of their sovereign, or to gain wealth by commerce.

The object of Cervantes in returning to Spain was to solicit a reward for his services, and on this occasion he received from Don John of Austria highly recommendatory letters to the king, requesting his majesty to confer on him the command of one of the companies raised in Spain to serve in Italy, as he was a man of courage, and distinguished for his merit and his services. The viceroy of Sicily also recommended him in high terms.

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He now embarked, with his brother Rodrigo, who had also served in the campaigns above mentioned, and with many other military men, to return to Spain, but, on the 26th of September, 1575, the vessel fell in with a squadron of galliots, under the command of Arnaute Mami, an Algerine captain; was attacked by three of the corsairs, and after obstinately maintaining an unequal combat, in which Cervantes distinguished himself, was obliged to surrender, and was carried into Algiers with all on board. It is probable that he gives the circumstances of this engagement in the fifth book of the Galatea, in which he describes an action between the ship which was carrying Timbrio from Italy to Spain, and this same Arnaute Mami, who commanded the squadron which captured him. In the division of the captives, Cervantes fell to the share of Dali Mami, captain of the vessel which had borne the principal share in the action. The Moor, on finding the letters of recommendation which Cervantes carried from Don John of Austria and the Duke of Sesa, supposed that he was a man of high rank and reputation, and that a large ransom could be obtained for him. He therefore treated his captive with great harshness, loading him with chains, keeping him under guard, and harassing him in various other ways, that the misery of his situation might induce him to urge his relations vehemently to effect his redemption. A further object of this mode of treating captives, which was common among the Barbary corsairs, was to induce them to renounce their religion; and the temptation was considerable, as the renegades received offices and dignities which gave them a great superiority over the natives of the country. But Cervantes remained unshaken and unseduced, and labored continually to devise means of escape for himself and his fellow captives. At length he prevailed on a Moor in whom he had confidence, to undertake to conduct them by land to Oran, an enterprise which had been attempted by other captives without success. Having commenced their march, they were abandoned on the first day by the Moor, and obliged to return to Algiers and the horrors of their captivity. Cervantes in particular found the rigor of his treatment much increased.

About this time, when the year 1576 was considerably advanced, some of his fellow captives were ransomed, and he was enabled to write to his parents, describing the miserable situation of himself and his brother. His father immediately pledged

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all his property to obtain means for ransoming his sons, and the whole family were reduced to poverty. Cervantes, on receiving the sum thus raised, began to treat with Dali Mami for his liberation, but the hopes of the Moor had been so much excited, that he would not accept the amount offered. Cervantes, however, was able to ransom his brother Rodrigo in August, 1577, and directed him, on his arrival in Spain, to send from the coasts of Valencia, Majorca, or Ivica, an armed ship to a point designated in the neighborhood of Algiers, which might receive him and other Christian captives. To facilitate the success of his brother's commission, he procured letters from two knights of the order of St. Juan, then captives in Algiers, addressed to the governors of the province and islands just mentioned, intreating them to aid in the execution of the plan.

This project of escape had been in the mind of Cervantes for a long time, and he had taken the best measures in his power to secure its success. About three miles eastward from Algiers, and in the neighborhood of the sea, was a garden belonging to the alcayde Hassan, a Greek renegade. This garden was under the care of a slave named Juan, a native of Navarre, who had prepared a cave in the most private part of it with much care. In this cave a number of Christian captives concealed themselves under the direction of Cervantes, about the end of February, 1577. Others continued to join them, so that when Rodrigo Cervantes returned to Spain, the number of captives in the cave amounted to fourteen or fifteen, all men of respectability, several of them Spanish knights. It is difficult to conceive how Cervantes, without being missed from the house of his master, governed this subterranean republic, providing for the subsistence of all, and guarding against discovery. He was enabled to carry on his plan principally by the interest of the gardener in its success, as a means of recovering his own liberty, and by the aid of another captive, called the Gilder, who had renounced Christianity, and afterwards returned to it. The gardener watched to prevent any one from entering the garden, and the other procured provisions for the party. After all concerned had been collected, and the time for the arrival of the ship drew nigh, Cervantes left the house of his master, and took refuge in the cave about the 20th of September, 1577.

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A ship was equipped with great promptitude on the coast of Valencia or in Majorca, and put under the command of a certain Viana, who had been ransomed from captivity, and was brave, active, and acquainted with the coast of Barbary. He reached Algiers on the 28th of September, and in the night approached the part of the coast nearest the garden. While he was lying there, some Moors happened to pass by on the shore or in a fishing boat, and descrying the ship and the Christians through the darkness, began to call for aid so loudly that the crew of the ship were alarmed and put to sea. Renewing their attempt to approach the coast a short time afterwards, they were taken prisoners and the whole plan was frustrated.

Meanwhile Cervantes and his companions were consoling themselves, for the hardships of their confined situation, with the hope of liberty, but all their hopes were soon destroyed by the treachery of the Gilder, on whom they were dependent. This hypocrite resolved to renounce again the Christian religion, and on the last day of September, to ingratiate himself with Hassan, Bashaw of Algiers, disclosed to him his purpose and the hiding-place of the captives. The Bashaw was delighted with this intelligence, the captives being forfeited to him by the laws of Algiers, and immediately ordered the captain of his guard to take eight or ten mounted Turks, and twenty-four foot-soldiers with their swords and muskets, and some lancers, and to go under the guidance of the informer to the garden of the alcayde Hassan, and take possession of the Christians concealed in the cave, and of the gardener. The order was executed, and in the midst of the confusion occasioned by the entrance of the soldiers, Cervantes charged his companions to provide for their own safety by throwing the whole blame on him. While the soldiers were manacling the prisoners, Cervantes, calling the attention of all present, declared with a loud voice and a tranquil manner, that none of his comrades were to blame, for that he had persuaded them all to conceal themselves, and had arranged the whole enterprise. The Turks, surprised by so generous and high-minded a confession, made at the risk of death and torture, sent a horseman to inform Hassan of what Cervantes had said, and received orders to shut up all the other captives in his baths, but to bring Cervantes before him. He was accordingly conducted, manacled and on foot, to the presence of Hassan, suffering on the way all sorts of insults and injuries from his guard and the rabble

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of Algiers. In his examination, the Bashaw had recourse alternately to artifice and threats to induce him to disclose his accomplices. He was particularly desirous to make him accuse an ecclesiastic named Oliver, then employed in redeeming captives in Algiers for the crown of Aragon. But Cervantes steadily declared that he was the sole contriver of the plan, and neither directly nor indirectly compromised any other person. The Bashaw, wearied out by his constancy, contented himself with appropriating to his own use all the captives who had been seized. Cervantes he shut up in his baths, loading him with chains, and purposing to chastise him. Nothing but avarice prevented him from putting his prisoners to death. He saved their lives with a view to their ransom. Some of them, however, he was obliged to restore to their former masters. If Cervantes was one of these, as Haedo relates, he remained but a short time in the hands of Dali Mami; since the Bashaw, either fearing the attempts which his ingenuity might suggest, or hoping to procure a great ransom for him, purchased him from his master for five hundred *escudos*.

The Bashaw was covetous, suspicious and malignant, and withal so cruel and tyrannical, that his captives dreaded him as a fiend. Haedo gives a shocking account of his life and atrocities; and Cervantes, speaking of the labor imposed on the captives in his baths, who were about two thousand, uses these words: 'Although we suffered from hunger and nakedness at times, and in fact almost always, yet nothing distressed us so much as the unheard-of cruelties of our master towards the Christians. Every day he hanged one, impaled another, cut off the ears of a third, and for such trivial causes, or so entirely without reason, that the Turks admitted that it was merely from pleasure at the sight of suffering, and because nature made him for a butcher of human kind.'

In the baths of this monster, Cervantes remained chained and watched with great vigilance from the end of the year 1577, but struggling continually to shake off the yoke. He at length found means secretly to despatch a Moor with letters for Don Martin de Cordoba, general of Oran, and other persons of distinction, resident in that place, requesting them to send some spies or trusty persons, with whom he and three other gentlemen, confined in the baths of the Bashaw might make their escape. The Moor departed to execute his com-

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mission, but unfortunately, at his entrance into Oran, he was intercepted by some other Moors, who took possession of the letters which had been given him, and carried him back to Algiers, where Hassan, seeing the signature of Cervantes, ordered the Moor to be impaled, and Cervantes to receive two thousand strokes. This sentence, however, was not executed, owing to strong intercession in his favor, although the barbarian at the same time ordered three other Spanish captives to be impaled in his presence for attempting to escape to Oran.

Neither these repeated failures nor the great risk of a cruel death, could abate the spirit of Cervantes, or relax his desire to effect his own liberation and that of the other captives. In September, 1579, he met in Algiers a Spanish renegade, a native of Grenada, whose original name was Giron, but who had taken that of Abderraman on becoming a Mussulman. Cervantes, learning from his fellow-captives that this man had repented of his change of faith, and was desirous to return to his former country and religion, exhorted him repeatedly to reconcile himself to the Catholic church. By his aid he hoped to procure the means to transport himself to Spain, and having obtained from a Spanish merchant at Algiers, named Onofre Exarque, fifteen hundred *doblas*, the renegade Giron purchased a galley with twelve banks of oars, and fitted it for sea under the secret direction of Cervantes, who had agreed with seventy of the principal captives that they should hold themselves ready to embark as soon as notified. But when the moment of departure had nearly arrived, an ill-disposed individual discovered the whole design to the Bashaw.

Hassan thought it best to conceal his knowledge of the plan, in order to apprehend the Christians in the fact, when he might punish them or take possession of them as forfeited to himself. But it was soon whispered about, that the plan was betrayed, and the Christians were greatly alarmed, particularly Onofre Exarque, who apprehended the loss of his property, liberty and life; as he supposed, that if Cervantes were taken, he should be put to the torture and compelled to disclose his accomplices. On this account, he pressed him strongly to embark for Spain in a ship which was on the point of sailing, offering to pay his ransom. But Cervantes, perceiving the cause of his uneasiness, and feeling how dishonorable it would be for him to leave his companions exposed to great danger, declined to accept his offer, and endeavored to tran-

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quillize him by declaring that no torture, nor even death itself, would induce him to betray any of his associates, but that on the other hand he should take the whole blame upon himself, in order to save them.

Meanwhile Cervantes had left the house of his master, and secreted himself in the quarters of Diego Castellano, an old comrade of his, until it should be known what measures the Bashaw would take in consequence of the discovery of this plot. A few days after, proclamation was made, through the public crier, for Cervantes, and the punishment of death was denounced against any one who should conceal him; upon which, fearing that his presence would expose his friend to danger, or that some other Christian might be put to the torture on his account, he resolved to present himself to the Bashaw, and availed himself on this occasion of the services of a renegade, a native of Murcia, named Morato Raez Maltrapillo, an intimate friend of Hassan, whose intercession he hoped might be of use to him. As soon as he came into the presence of Hassan, the Bashaw began to inquire into the circumstances of the plot and the names of his accomplices, and, to terrify him, caused a rope to be put round his neck, and his hands to be tied behind him, as if he were on the point of being hanged; but Cervantes remained perfectly calm, betrayed no one, and steadily and repeatedly declared that he alone had planned and arranged every thing, with four other gentlemen, who had since obtained their liberty, and that none of the other captives were to know of the plot till the moment of its execution. The replies which he made to the charges of Hassan were so ingenious and discreet, that, although not admitted as a justification, they yet served to moderate the anger of the savage, who contented himself for the time with banishing the renegade Giron to the Kingdom of Fez, and ordering Cervantes to be thrown into prison, where he was kept for five months chained, fettered, vigilantly guarded, and treated with the greatest rigor.

It is certain that the diligence and sagacity shown by Cervantes, in contriving and conducting these conspiracies, and the courage and firmness with which he had four times met the danger of being impaled, burned alive, or in other ways put to a cruel death, for the sake of saving his companions, gained him such a reputation and made him so formidable in the eyes of the Algerines, that the Bashaw suspected him of meditating

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an insurrection in Algiers, to destroy that asylum of the pirates of the Mediterranean.

The example of two brave Spaniards, who had previously made the attempt, and the great number of captives, (more than twenty-five thousand) whose coöperation might be relied on, had in fact inspired him with the idea of taking possession of the city, and delivering it up to his sovereign Philip II.; but the ingratitude and ill will of some of the conspirators frustrated his plans. The severities of the Bashaw towards Cervantes were not therefore merely the effects of his cruel disposition, but precautions for securing his own safety and that of his republic; and he was accustomed to say, that if he could keep a good watch over that disabled Spaniard, he should consider his capital, his captives, and his vessels secure. Cervantes was aware of the Bashaw's feelings, and confessed that he was treated with a moderation foreign from the character of Hassan, and unlike his conduct towards the other slaves.

The sufferings of Cervantes, particularly in the latter years of his captivity, were increased by the distressed condition of the city of Algiers. Hassan, from the time of his entering upon the government, had monopolized all the provisions, which he sold at such prices as he saw fit; the consequences of which were famine, disease, and so horrible a mortality among the poor of the country, that all the streets of the city were filled with the dead and the dying; and though the Christian captives did not experience these calamities in their full force, on account of the interest which their masters had in preserving their lives for the sake of their ransoms, their condition could not but be materially affected by such a state of distress, among a population so numerous and in a city so miserably regulated. About the same time, the formidable preparations which Philip II. was making for the conquest of Portugal, but without disclosing his object, spread terror among the leading men of Algiers, who imagined that the armament was intended for the reduction of their city; so that they labored incessantly to strengthen and extend their fortifications, on which the Christian captives were compelled to work day and night. The captives were also guarded with additional strictness, until the entrance of the Spanish army into Portugal showed the true object of the armament.

While Cervantes was trying such ingenious and hazardous methods to obtain liberty, his parents were laboring at Madrid

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to effect his ransom. But their means having been exhausted in ransoming his elder brother in 1577, they were unable to advance the sum required. Rodrigo Cervantes, therefore, immediately after the arrival of his elder son in Spain, petitioned for a judicial inquiry into the character, circumstances and services of his son Miguel, and his own inability to ransom him. Such an examination was made, but before any thing was finally determined, the father died. Meanwhile two ecclesiastics were preparing to go to Algiers, by order of the Spanish authorities, to ransom captives. Their names were Juan Gil and Antonio de la Bella. Before these commissioners, the mother and sister of Cervantes presented themselves and put into their hands, the former two hundred and fifty ducats, the latter fifty, to aid in the ransom of a son and a brother.

The ecclesiastics arrived at Algiers on the 29th of May, 1580, and immediately began to execute their commission. The difficulties which they met with in the case of Cervantes, delayed them some time, since the Bashaw demanded a thousand *escudos* for him, double the price which he had paid, and threatened if this sum were not advanced that he would carry him to Constantinople, whither he was on the point of returning, the period of his government having expired. In fact, Cervantes had already been put on ship board, loaded with chains, when father Gil, pitying his situation, and fearing that he would lose forever the chance of recovering his freedom, exerted himself so zealously for his liberation, that the Bashaw at length consented to receive five hundred *escudos* of gold. This sum was made up in part by money borrowed of the merchants, and Cervantes was finally allowed to disembark on the 19th of September, at the very moment when the Bashaw set sail for Constantinople.

After regaining his liberty, Cervantes requested father Gil to have a formal inquiry made into his conduct during his residence in Algiers, in order to clear his reputation from the charges which some ill-disposed individuals had preferred against him, before he should present himself in Spain to seek the reward of his services. A full examination was therefore made, and the result was highly honorable to him. Navarrete, in this place, in further illustration of the merits of Cervantes, repeats the fact, already mentioned, that the Mussulmans at Algiers were accustomed to make great efforts to

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seduce the young Christian captives to renounce their faith, and embrace Mohammedanism, clothing them splendidly, feasting them sumptuously, and using all sorts of enticing arts, prohibiting them at the same time from having intercourse with the other Christians, and from practising the rites of their religion. When these means failed, they resorted to cruelty. Five young men, in the service of the principal Turks of Algiers, who had been thus induced to desert their faith, were prevailed upon by the earnest representations of Cervantes to seek a reconciliation with the Catholic church, and, when at sea on an expedition with their masters, escaped, as he had suggested, to the shores of Christendom. While the Turks were in the habit of practising these arts on the higher class of their captives, the poorer sort were subjected to the most cruel treatment, being compelled, after completing their domestic tasks, to labor on the public works of the city, or in other toilsome but lucrative employments, to earn money for their owners, and if they failed to furnish the daily demand, they were so ill-used that they sometimes became disabled for life, in which case they were dragged to the gates of the houses to beg for their support. Cervantes endeavored to alleviate the lot of these poor people, distributing among them all that he had or could collect, to give them the means of satisfying their own wants and the daily exactions of their masters.

It appears likewise from the uniform testimony of the best witnesses, that Cervantes was strict in performing the duties of a Catholic Christian; that his zeal led him many times to defend his religion, in the presence of infidels, at the risk of his life; that he strengthened the faith of those whom he found lukewarm or discouraged; that his nobleness of mind, agreeable manners, frankness of deportment, genius and good sense gained him many friends; that his kindness and affability procured him the favor of the multitude, while he preserved even in slavery the decorum becoming his station; and that the commissioners for redeeming the captives, sensible of his talents and accomplishments, treated him with great regard, and consulted him on the most difficult matters connected with their mission.

During his captivity, Cervantes wrote some verses on sacred subjects, and it is not improbable that he may have composed some of his comedies at that period, since it is known that the captives in the baths were accustomed to celebrate certain fes-

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tivals, on which occasions they represented dramas and recited passages from the poets. At the close of the year 1580, Cervantes set out for Spain with several of his late comrades in captivity, and in the summer of 1581, we find him embarked as a soldier on board the ships which were transporting the troops under the command of Don Lope Figueroa, to aid Don Pedro Valdes, who commanded a squadron sent to reduce Terceira and to protect the vessels which traded to India. But Valdes having failed in an attempt to land on Terceira, and the two commanders not being able to agree, each acted independently, and both returned about the same time to the ports of Portugal, where the various Spanish squadrons were ordered to assemble to be prepared to act together the next year. Cervantes and his brother were afterwards present in an action which took place near the island of Terceira, on the 25th and 26th of July, 1582, between the French and Spanish fleets. The Spaniards were victorious. The two brothers were also present in the summer of 1583 at the reduction of Terceira.

During the stay of Cervantes in Portugal, he appears to have formed an illicit connexion, the fruit of which was a daughter, who accompanied him in his subsequent fortunes, and lived in his house even after his marriage.

In all the countries which he visited in the course of his military career, he appears to have been a diligent and accurate observer, forming an acquaintance with their principal men of letters, studying their literature, their politics and manners, their merits and their faults, and thus acquiring the stores of knowledge, the strength and correctness of judgment, the grace and elegance of style, and the truth of description, which characterize his works. On his voyages he studied diligently the peculiar features of maritime life; hence the variety of naval adventures which he introduces, and the skill in the use of maritime terms, which distinguish him among all the Spanish writers. About this time he was ordered to Oran, undoubtedly because the company to which he belonged was in garrison there, but the particulars of his residence in that place are not known.

In the midst of so agitated a life he commenced, and about the end of the year 1583 completed the Galatea, the first work which he published, a pastoral adapted to the taste of

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the time. Many of the shepherds in this tale appear to have been real characters, and Galatea herself a lady to whom he was attached, and whom he shortly after married. This pastoral contains many fine situations and descriptions, but the shepherds are too learned and philosophical, and the episodes too numerous. It was not published till towards the close of 1584. In December of that year, immediately after the publication, he married a lady of a noble family in Esquivias.

The love of polite learning, especially poetry, had diffused in that age, through the principal cities of Italy, a taste for academies, which were founded and supported by men of eminence. The example was imitated in Spain during the reign of Charles V., and among the academies, which shed lustre on his court, the one which assembled in the house of the famous Hernan Cortes was particularly celebrated. The first societies of this sort, however, seem not to have gained a permanent footing in Spain, and perhaps expired with their founders, while in Italy they continued to flourish more and more. The example of the Italian academies induced a gentleman of distinction belonging to the Spanish court to establish a similar association, embracing the principal poets and men of letters resident in Madrid. Cervantes was probably one of the members.

At this period of his life he wrote comedies to the number of twenty or thirty, which were all performed and well received, but Lope de Vega soon eclipsed all his countrymen in this branch of literature.

It was not merely the love of poetry or the desire of fame which made Cervantes devote himself to the drama, but the necessity of exerting his talents for the support of his family. His labors and sufferings in the service of his country had not yet met with any recompense, he was more than forty years old, his left arm was disabled, and he found it difficult to obtain a decent support. In the year 1588 he ceased to write for the stage, and removed to Seville, having obtained a small office under the commissary-general for supplying the fleets of the Indies with provisions and other necessaries, purchased from the people of the various provinces. He entered on his duties in June of that year, and continued to discharge them till April following. Seville was at that time the emporium of the commerce and wealth of the new world, the richest city in Spain, and the most distinguished for the cultivation of literature and the arts; and Cervantes might have hoped to obtain

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there the consideration which he sought in vain amid the pomp of the court.

The humble and precarious situation which poverty had obliged him to accept, he probably regarded as an opening to better employments, or as affording him the means to become informed of vacant offices in the Indies, and to apply for them with better support and recommendations. In May, 1590, he addressed a memorial to the king, setting forth the services which he had rendered for twenty-two years without any return, and petitioning for one of the offices then vacant in the Indies; but the memorial was without effect, possibly owing to some imprudence on his part. He therefore retained the office of commissary, and continued in it during the years 1591 and 1592, discharging various commissions for supplying the galleys of Spain.

In the exercise of these duties he visited most of the towns of Andalusia, whose roads, customs, and the most particular circumstances connected with them, he describes with the fidelity of an eye-witness, availing himself at the same time of all the subjects which could afford exercise to his peculiar humor, and having always in view the improvement of men. An occurrence, which took place in Andalusia while he was in the province, and which Navarrete considers as the foundation of one of the adventures of Don Quixote, is so characteristic of the manners of the times, that we insert his account of it.

At the close of the year 1591, St. Juan de Cruz died of a fever in his convent at Ubeda. Two of his admirers, Doña Ana de Mercado, and her brother Don Luis de Mercado, who by the advice of the holy man had founded the convent of Segovia, determined to attempt the transfer of his remains to their convent at every risk, without regard to the opposition, which might be expected from the people of Ubeda and the vicinity.

Having obtained the permission of the vicar-general of the Carmelites, they despatched a person in whom they could confide, with the title of alguazil, to present himself to the prior of the convent of Ubeda, disinter the body, and bring it to Segovia with great secrecy and precaution. The commissioner entered the city of Ubeda by night, delivered his despatches privately to the prior, and while the members of the convent were asleep, opened the sepulchre, nine months after the interment had taken place, when the body was found in good preservation, and emitting a fragrant smell. It was thought

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best, however, to defer the transfer for a while. Eight or nine months afterwards, about the middle of the year 1593, the alguazil returned, and finding the body more dry, though still fragrant, he put it into a sack for the purpose of concealment, and left the city at midnight, accompanied by a number of guards. To escape observation, he avoided the main road, and travelled through by-paths and desert tracts in the dead of the night. It is said, that while this pious robbery was executing, a member of the convent was awakened by a loud voice, exclaiming, 'Arise, for they are carrying off the body of the holy brother Juan de la Cruz,' whereupon he arose, and going to the church found the prior keeping guard at the door, who ordered him to say nothing of what he had discovered. It is also reported, that before the alguazil arrived at Martos, a figure suddenly appeared to him on a high crag, not far from the road, and exclaimed with a loud voice, 'Whither are you carrying the body of the Saint? leave it where you found it.' At which the alguazil and his companions were so alarmed, that their hair stood on end. A similar adventure happened to them on a plain, where a man suddenly appeared, and asked them what they were carrying. They replied, that they had orders to keep it secret. But the man continuing his importunities, they were about to give him some money to get rid of him, when they found that he had disappeared. Notwithstanding these obstructions, they continued their journey towards Madrid and Segovia. And the leader of the party afterwards stated, that several times during the journey, he had seen brilliant lights round the sack which contained the venerable relics. The boldness with which this singular robbery was executed, the strange circumstances which accompanied it, and, more than all, the dispute which it immediately occasioned between the cities of Ubeda and Segovia, afforded subjects of never-ending gossip and exaggeration to the Andalusians.

No sooner were the facts of the case known in Ubeda, than the government of the city determined to apply to the Pope to obtain the restitution of the sacred remains. A complaint was accordingly preferred to Clement VIII. against the city of Segovia, whose cause was sustained by Don Luis de Mercado and his sister. After due examination, restitution was ordered by his Holiness; but when the event of this singular suit was known in Spain, some persons of much influence in-

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terposed to prevent the excitement which would attend the execution of the sentence, and the city of Ubeda was induced to compound for a part of the remains of the venerable man; thus the devotion of both parties was satisfied, and their minds tranquillized. Navarrete considers this story as having given rise to the adventure of the dead body in the 19th chapter of the first part of Don Quixote,—Cervantes having been in Andalusia at the time when the circumstances took place, and of course having often heard them spoken of.

Cervantes remained a number of years collecting money due to the government. About this time Clement VIII., at the solicitation of the king of Poland, canonized San Jacinto, on which occasion the Dominican convent of Saragossa celebrated solemn festivals, accompanied with poetical contests, which had been announced through all the kingdom of Aragon, and the principal cities of the peninsula, especially at the universities of Salamanca and Alcala. On this occasion Cervantes gained a prize for a work in praise of the saint.

In the year 1596, Cervantes became involved in the bankruptcy of a merchant named Simon Freire, who had received from him in Seville a part of the money which he had collected for the government, giving him, in return, an obligation to pay him the same sum in Madrid. Cervantes having made a representation of the case to the king, the money was recovered by the government from the effects of the bankrupt. This circumstance, and a distrust of the credit of the principal bondsman of Cervantes, led the government to make a strict inquiry into his accounts, and an order was issued in September, 1597, requiring him to give security, that, within twenty days, he would present himself in Madrid, and pay the balance that should appear to be due from him. If he should fail to give such security, he was to be cast into prison, a treatment which the commissioners of the government often received, many instances being known of their having been arrested five, six and eight years after the settlement of their respective commissions, on account of the confusion in the Spanish finances, occasioned by the want of order and the great expenditures of the government. Cervantes was arrested in Seville, but as his debt was small, he was liberated on giving a proportionate security, and allowed to go and complete his account. We are ignorant of the result

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of the proceedings, but it is certain that he remained in Seville at least during the year 1598. Philip II. died on the 13th of September in that year, and to honor his memory, the city determined to erect a magnificent tomb. On the 24th of November, the obsequies commenced, at which the city, the *audiencia* or court of justice, and the tribunal of the Inquisition assisted. On the following day assigned for the performance of the funeral service, so violent an altercation arose in the church between the *audiencia* and the Inquisition, on account of the president of the court having covered his seat with black cloth, that, notwithstanding the solemnity of the place and the occasion, excommunications were thundered forth by the Inquisition; in consequence of which the officiating priest retired to the vestry to conclude the mass, and the preacher, who was prepared to pronounce the funeral discourse, descended from the pulpit, leaving the courts, spiritual and temporal, in their places till the hour of four in the afternoon, engaged in a warfare of protests and injunctions. The marquis of Algaba at length succeeded in composing the tumult, the Inquisition recalled its denunciations, and an account of the whole affair was laid by both parties before the king and council, that they might settle the points in dispute. The decision did not arrive until the close of December, and on the 30th and 31st of that month the honors were repeated, all the preparations having remained suspended till that time. On this occasion the satirical humor of Cervantes displayed itself in a sonnet. These circumstances show that Cervantes resided at that time in Seville, where he employed himself in various agencies for persons of distinction. His long residence in that city led some of his contemporaries to suppose it his native place; but though this opinion is incorrect, his great knowledge of its localities and of the manners, faults, prejudices and popular stories of the citizens, prove his great familiarity with it. Thence he drew the materials for several of his tales, as, for instance, that of Rinconete and Cortadillo, two famous robbers, whose adventures occurred in the year 1369.

The intercourse of Cervantes with the common people, which made him familiar with the manners of the rogues and idlers, and the rudest of the populace of a large city, did not prevent him from cultivating the friendship of the wise and learned, and the men of most reputation in the place. One

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of these was Francisco Pacheco, a distinguished painter and poet, whose shop, says Rodrigo Caro, was the usual academy of cultivated genius in Seville, both native and foreign. This painter is known to have taken the portrait of Cervantes, as did also another painter and poet of Seville, named Don Juan de Jauregui.

During the four years subsequent to 1598, there is no satisfactory information of the condition of Cervantes. It has been generally believed that he was imprisoned for a time in La Mancha, in consequence of the ill-feeling excited by the execution of some commission with which he had been intrusted; and while in prison he is supposed to have written the first part of Don Quixote. In Argamasilla, a town of La Mancha, tradition has even preserved the memory of a particular house, in which he is said to have been confined. If this imprisonment did really take place, it may have been during the four years just mentioned. Various causes have been assigned for it; one of them is, that he attempted to collect from the people in the neighborhood of Argamasilla some arrears of tithes, due to the grand priory of San Jacinto; another, that he employed the water of the Guadiana in turning a powder mill to the prejudice of the country people, who had used it for irrigating their fields; another that he had addressed a biting jest to a lady, and thereby offended her friends,—but there is nothing known with certainty on the subject. Cervantes himself makes mention of Don Quixote having been commenced in prison, and from this circumstance and the silence of his enemies and rivals respecting the cause of his confinement, it is not probable that any dishonor was attached to it.

Two years after the removal of the Spanish court to Valladolid, Cervantes went to reside in that place. The Duke of Lerma was then at the head of the government. He is said by some writers to have treated Cervantes with very little regard; so that, finding his hopes of a compensation for his services continually disappointed, he ceased to make application for it, and employed himself during the rest of his life in various agencies and other business, and in writing new works, or in preparing for publication those which he had already written. These scanty resources, and the assistance which he afterwards obtained by means of his friends from enlightened patrons,

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supported him during the remainder of his life. He lived in poverty, in the midst of the splendor of the court, behaving with great prudence and moderation, and always mentioning with respect those officers of the government to whom he alluded in his printed works.

Being about to publish the first part of Don Quixote, he sought to obtain the patronage of some man of high rank and reputation, and fond of literature, whose favor might increase the consideration of the work in the eyes of the public; and having obtained the royal license to print it on the 26th of September, 1604, he determined to dedicate it to the Duke of Bejar. There is a tradition that he was afraid that his book, purporting to contain the adventures of a knight errant, would be neglected by the more reflecting and better informed part of the community, and little esteemed by ordinary readers, who could not understand its delicate satire, and would be disappointed in not finding there the marvellous stories to which they had been accustomed in books of chivalry. This is said to have been one of his reasons for wishing to dedicate the work to the Duke, whose high standing would bring it into notice and favor. It is a part of the same tradition, that the Duke, being informed of the nature of the work, was unwilling to allow it to be dedicated to him, but that Cervantes, professing that he would be governed by his wishes, requested him only to listen to one chapter of the book; the effect surpassed his hopes, for the audience were so delighted, that they would not allow the reading to stop till the whole work was finished, and loaded it with praises; upon which the Duke willingly accepted the dedication.

It is supposed that Don Quixote, on its first appearance, was received with much neglect by the public; and that Cervantes, knowing that it was misunderstood, endeavored to attract attention to its true character by an anonymous publication called *Buscapié*, in which, pretending to criticise the work, he intimated that it was a satire full of instruction and entertainment, intended to put an end to the injurious habit of reading books of chivalry; and that the personages and events, although fictitious, had some allusion to the character and exploits of Charles V. and of other persons who had charge of the affairs of the monarchy. Only a few copies of the *Buscapié* were circulated, and none are known to be extant. The

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fact of its appearance, however, is pretty well established. We cannot tell what effect it may have had in producing the popularity which Don Quixote soon attained. Four editions at least were printed the same year (1605), in which the first appeared. These were soon followed by others in France, Italy, Portugal and Flanders.

In addition to the ridicule cast upon the fables of knight errantry, the variety and nature of the adventures, episodes and incidents of the story, afforded a wide field for attacking the vices and prejudices most common in society. This collateral object Cervantes has pursued with great spirit and humor, and by allusions to recent personages or events, has increased the effect of the satire, although the chivalrous air, thrown over the whole, moderates the personality of the allusions. Voltaire considers Don Quixote as modelled on the Orlando of Ariosto. Señor Rios thinks it an imitation of the Iliad. Pellicer finds more points of resemblance between the Spanish story and the Golden Ass of Apuleius. These vagaries led two Spanish scholars in Italy, under pretence, the one of criticising, the other of defending Cervantes, to amuse themselves with an ironical exhibition of parallel passages from the Spanish work and its supposed models. Thus the adventure of Mambrino's helmet was compared to the bringing of the divine arms to Achilles by Thetis; the wedding of Camacho, to the funeral games in honor of Patroclus and of Anchises; the wooden horse, on which Don Quixote achieved the adventure of the afflicted duenna, to the griffin steed of Ariosto; the disenchantment of Dulcinea to the enchanted wood of Tasso, and so of the rest.

In consequence of the general favor with which Don Quixote was received, the author was attacked by some writers, who considered themselves as having been satirized in that work. The writers of romances of knight errantry, and their multitude of readers, saw themselves ridiculed with keen and elegant irony; several poets were sharply criticised in the examination of Don Quixote's library, and the dramatic writers were provoked by the freedom with which they were treated by Cervantes in the person of the canon of Toledo. The resentment of the offended parties gave rise to numerous attacks upon the Don Quixote and upon its author. A sonnet in depreciation of Cervantes has been attributed to Lope de Vega, and another which attacks the writings of Lope has been as-

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cribed to Cervantes; but, in the opinion of Navarrete, there is no foundation for the supposition of such hostility between these distinguished men, who openly spoke of each other in the highest terms.

Many literary men were attracted to Valladolid by the residence of the court in that place. Among these was Diego de Haedo, who, having finished his history of Algiers in 1604, was soliciting a license to print it. As this work contains an account of some adventures of Cervantes, while in captivity, which the latter was on the point of giving to the world in his tale of the Captive, it was natural that they should compare their respective accounts, to avoid discrepancies. It may be inferred, that this was done, from the similarity of style and expression to be found in the two; and Sarmiento, in confirmation of this supposition, states, that he had heard from a brother of his order a tradition, that a Benedictine monk had assisted Cervantes in the composition of Don Quixote,—a story, which might have had its origin from the intercourse of Cervantes with Haedo.

The 8th of April, 1605, was the birth-day of Philip IV. His baptism took place on the 28th of May, and on the 31st the queen appeared in public to attend the celebration of mass. The English ambassador, admiral Charles Howard, had arrived at Coruña on the 26th, with a train of six hundred Englishmen, to ratify a treaty, and was present at the baptism of the infant, and the appearance of the queen. These events were celebrated with magnificent festivals, bull fights, balls, masquerades, and military exhibitions. After the ratification of the treaty, also, the English ambassador was splendidly entertained, and departed on the 17th of June. To preserve the remembrance of these celebrations, Cervantes was commissioned by the ministry to prepare an account of them, which he did to the general acceptation.

Scarcely were these public rejoicings concluded, when a melancholy accident disturbed the tranquillity of Cervantes and his family. Among the followers of the court was a knight of Navarre, a member of the order of Santiago, named Don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, a lover of tournaments and of gallantry, who, on the night of the 27th of June, 1603, had an encounter in the street with another person, was badly wounded, and calling loudly for aid, took refuge in the house in which Cervantes resided. His cries brought out a young man, the son

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of Doña Luisa de Montoya, who also occupied apartments in the same house. Seeing the knight with his unsheathed sword in one hand, his shield in the other, and bleeding copiously, he called out to Cervantes, who had already retired to rest. The two carried him into the apartments of Doña Luisa, where he remained till his death.

It appears from the testimony of the witnesses on the judicial examination of this affair, that the family of Cervantes then comprised his wife, his natural daughter, a girl of twenty years, his sister Doña Andrea, who was a widow, her daughter, an unmarried woman of twenty-eight years; and another lady also, called his sister, who was a *beata* (or woman devoted to works of charity), and was above forty years old.

There was some evidence to show that Don Gaspar received his wounds from a rival suitor of the daughter or niece of Cervantes, or of one of the other ladies lodged in the other apartments of the same house. On this account, several persons were put in prison, and among them Cervantes himself, his daughter, his niece, and his widowed sister. It is a part of Doña Andrea's testimony, when examined as to her brother's visitors, that some persons came to see him on account of his being accustomed to prepare writings and do other business, and that Mendez (one of the persons whose visits were inquired into) had requested him to go to the kingdom of Toledo on business connected with certain rents. From this, it would seem that Cervantes continued to employ himself in agencies as a means of supporting his family. Soon after, the prisoners were released, there being no evidence to prove them culpable.

In 1606 the court returned to Madrid, and was followed thither by Cervantes. In the year 1608, the first part of Don Quixote was reprinted under his eye, with corrections, omissions and additions.

Cervantes was now old, in straitened circumstances, persecuted by his rivals, neglected notwithstanding his services and his talents, and thoroughly experienced in the ways of men. Thenceforth he devoted himself to a retired and philosophical life, to literature and religious duties. He became a member of some of the religious associations which flourished at that period, under the patronage of Philip III., a prince of a devotional character, whose influence induced the principal courtiers and public officers, and the most distinguished scholars and artists, to enter these fraternities. Cervantes was one of

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the earliest members, having entered in April, 1609. His wife, and his sister Doña Andrea, also devoted themselves to religious exercises in the order of St. Francis, in June of the same year.

The mutual love and esteem of Cervantes and Doña Andrea were uncommonly strong and enduring. She was older than he, had given up her portion to aid in his ransom, and a few years after had also furnished for the same object a small sum, which she had collected for her own wants. She had been married three times; and having survived all her husbands, Cervantes received her and a daughter by her first marriage into his family. They followed him to Seville, Valladolid and Madrid, and contributed by their labors to the support of the household. She died in October, 1609, aged sixty-five years, and was buried at her brother's expense.

Meanwhile, Cervantes was laboring to prepare some of his works for publication. The principal was the collection of twelve tales, selected from a number which he had composed at various times, and which were the first originally written in Castilian. Two of these, the *Curioso Impertinente*, and the *Capitan Cautivo*, he had already introduced into his Don Quixote. Finding these well received in Spain, and the former also translated into French, he was encouraged to publish the rest in 1613, dedicating them to the Count of Lemos. He called them *Ejemplares* (exemplary), to indicate that their moral tendency was good, whereby they were distinguished from the greater part of the Italian tales. He says in his preface, that if he supposed they could awaken evil desires or thoughts in any reader, he would rather cut off the hand with which they were written, than give them to the public. In his dedication to the Count of Lemos, he says that he sends him twelve tales, which, if they had not been framed in the workshop of his invention, might compare with the best of their kind.

The author's opinion of their merits was confirmed by that of the enlightened part of the public. Lope de Vega wrote some tales in imitation of these of Cervantes, but fell far short of his model. He also drew the plots of some of his plays from these stories, and others of the Spanish dramatic writers did the same. In one of these stories Cervantes shows his superiority to the prejudices of the time, by ridiculing the popular belief in witchcraft.

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In his preface he says, that he is the first person who has written tales in the Spanish language, that the many other stories printed in Spanish are all translations, but that these are his own, not imitated nor stolen from any other man. Navarrete considers these tales as still the most perfect of their kind in Spanish literature.

About the middle of the year 1614, a continuation or second part of Don Quixote was printed at Tarragona by an enemy of Cervantes, a writer of comedies, who had been offended by the critiques of Cervantes on the bad state of the Spanish theatre. This person, under the feigned title of the licentiate Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda, had the audacity to publish his continuation of the work of Cervantes, in the life time of the latter, who had moreover lately announced a second part of the Knight's adventures, by his own hand, as on the eve of publication. Not content with this impudent assumption of the rights of Cervantes, he poured all sorts of abuse on him in his preface. When this production was published, Cervantes had made considerable progress with his own second part, so that it is not till the sixty-ninth chapter that he speaks of the work of Avellaneda, and then with great delicacy, so far as respects the personal abuse, but satirizing with much humor and elegance the literary defects of his rival. Nothing but the universal celebrity of Cervantes and the notice which he bestowed on Avellaneda's work in his own, has given an interest to the inquiry, who was the person concealed under this name. Le Sage, in 1704, published in Paris a translation of the work with improvements of his own, and an edition of the original was reprinted in Madrid in 1732, but it is too poor to attract much attention. Navarrete thinks that the impostor was a Dominican monk, a native of Aragon, and protected by the king's confessor, which he considers to be the reason of Cervantes' forbearance towards him.

At the close of the year 1614, Cervantes published his *Viage al Parnaso*, a poetical review of contemporary Spanish poetry, intended to reform the abuses which had crept into it. This was followed by an *Adjunta al Parnaso*, the object of which is much the same with that of the *Viage*, with the further view, however, of bringing his comedies before the public, and exposing the neglect of the players in suffering them to remain on his hands uncalled for.

He afterwards applied to a bookseller to print some of

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those comedies, and received for answer that he would gladly have done it, if he had not been assured by an author of note, that much was to be expected from the prose of Cervantes, but little from his verse. This mortified Cervantes exceedingly, as he was always very desirous of the reputation of a poet. He afterwards revised his pieces, negotiated anew with the bookseller, and in September, 1615, eight of his comedies and as many *entremeses* were published.

The public received these works with indifference, and the players did not perform them even after they were published. This is easily accounted for, since Lope de Vega had already inundated the stage, and many other ingenious writers were engaged in laboring for it. Cervantes himself does not seem to have had a high opinion of these productions, speaking very modestly of them in his preface, and promising to correct their faults in another comedy which he was preparing, under the name of *El Engaño á los ojos*, but which never saw the light. In fact, they do not seem to have much merit, for Don Blas Nasarre, who reprinted them in 1749, is of opinion that Cervantes wrote them with the view of ridiculing the comedies of his time, and therefore carried to excess the faults of the style then in vogue; and the Abbé Lampillas supposes that the printers maliciously prefixed the name and preface of Cervantes to these extravagant comedies, corresponding to the depraved taste of the age, having suppressed or completely metamorphosed those which he actually wrote. No better proof, says Navarrete, could be given of the extravagance of these dramas, than the extravagant apologies made for them. A knowledge of the Spanish theatre of that period shows, that the faults of the comedies of Cervantes were common to all or the greater part of those which were then written and performed; and various pieces by other writers, which he extolled as excellent, abound with the same. The *Numancia* and *El Trato de Argel*, which he acknowledges, are sufficiently like the others to show the groundlessness of the suppositions just mentioned.

His *entremeses* are of more value. These were originally short dramas or dialogues of a humorous character, introduced between the acts of comedies, when the latter were only dialogues in the nature of eclogues; but after the comedies had received greater extension and dignity, and kings, queens and other eminent personages were introduced among the *dramatis*

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personæ, the name of *entremeses* was given to the old fashioned comedies which were confined to scenes from common life. Cervantes wrote a considerable number of them, but published only eight. These show a singular skill in portraying characters and manners, a very natural tone of dialogue, and a keen perception of the extravagant and ridiculous, which might have made him the Molière of his country, if he had devoted himself to this branch of the drama.

At this period *Justas Poéticas*, so called, were common in Spain, where they had been long established. These were poetical contests, perhaps in imitation of the tournament. One of these trials of skill took place in Madrid, in 1614, on the occasion of the beatification of Santa Teresa. On this occasion, poems in Latin and Spanish were recited before a large and distinguished audience. Cervantes took part in the contest with a *cancion*, which was published in the selection of the pieces presented on this occasion. He obtained permission to print the second part of Don Quixote in October, 1615, having been induced to hasten the completion of the work by the appearance of Avellaneda's continuation.

Cervantes dedicated the second part of Don Quixote to his patron, the Count of Lemos, and after setting forth the miserable state of his health, recommends to his notice the Persiles and Sigismunda, a work which, in spite of his illness, he promised to complete within four months. It is a novel written, as the author professed, in imitation of the Theagenes and Chariclea of Heliodorus. This work was finished, as he had promised, by the spring of 1616, when the increasing severity of his illness interrupted his labors, and did not permit him to prepare either a dedication or a preface. Such was his condition on Sunday, the second of April, that, not being able to leave his house, he was admitted there into the third order of St. Francis, the habit of which he had assumed at Alcala, on the 2d of July, 1613, but as the nature of his illness admitted of some intervals of alleviation, he hoped to obtain more radical relief by a change of air and of diet, and resolved to go to Esquivias, to visit the relations of his wife. Some days later, being convinced that little was to be expected from the change, and desirous to die at home, he returned to Madrid, in company with two friends. On the road, an incident occurred, which afforded him matter for the preface to his last work, and led him to give the only particular account which we possess of his illness.

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As he and his companions were riding from Esquivias, they were accosted by a stranger, who called loudly to them to stop. They waited for him to come up, when he turned out to be a student, riding on an ass, and complaining that they travelled at such a rate that he could not overtake them to join their company. One of the party apologized, laying the blame on the horse of señor Miguel de Cervantes, which was inclined to travel briskly. Scarcely had the student heard the name of Cervantes, whom he held in high esteem, though not personally acquainted with him, than he threw himself from his beast, and seized Cervantes by the left hand, expressing his admiration in passionate terms. Cervantes, who unexpectedly found himself overwhelmed with praises, replied with the modesty and courtesy natural to him, embracing his admirer and begging him to remount and travel in company with him. The student complied, and then followed the dialogue, which gives us an idea of the illness of Cervantes, and which he relates in the following terms. 'We drew our bridles a little tighter, and pursued our journey with a moderate pace, conversing on my illness, when the good student immediately pronounced my fate, saying, this disorder is the dropsy, which all the water in the ocean could not cure, even though it were sweet and fresh. You must abstain, señor Cervantes, from drinking, but do not fail to eat, and this regimen will cure you without the aid of medicine. Many persons have given me the same advice, said I, but I cannot help drinking, as if I were born for nothing else; my life is drawing to a close, as I see by the rate of my pulse, which cannot continue to beat beyond the next Sunday. You have arrived just in time to make my acquaintance, but I shall have no opportunity to show my gratitude for the disposition which you have manifested towards me. By this time we had reached the bridge of Toledo, and I entered that way, while he took the direction of the bridge of Segovia.' Soon after this dialogue, which shows that Cervantes maintained the cheerfulness of his spirit to the borders of the grave, the violence of his disorder increased, and all hope being extinguished, he received extreme unction on Monday, the 18th of that month.

Nevertheless, he preserved till the next day the serenity of his spirit, the power and fertility of his imagination, and an affectionate remembrance of his benefactor, the Count of Lemos, who was expected soon to arrive from Naples, to take the

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presidency of the council of Italy. As a last mark of his gratitude, he dedicated to the Count his *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, with a letter worthy, as Rios observes, of the attentive regard of all the grandees and scholars of the world, that the former may learn to be generous, the latter to be grateful. With equal serenity he made his will. He ordered that his body should be buried in the convent of the nuns of the Trinity. After having made these dispositions, and enjoined the performance of certain acts for the good of his soul, he died on the 23d of April, 1616. Shakspeare died on the same day.

The only work of Cervantes, which can be called posthumous, is his *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, printed at Madrid, in 1617. The same year editions were printed at Valencia, Pamplona, Barcelona and Brussels. In 1626, it was translated into Italian and printed at Venice.

A portrait of Cervantes, painted in the reign of Philip IV., corresponds to the following description of his person in the preface to his *Novelas*. 'This man whom you see with an eagle face, chestnut hair, open and easy countenance, bright eyes, a hooked but well proportioned nose, beard silvery, which less than twenty years since was golden, large whiskers, small mouth with few teeth scattered at random, of middling stature, complexion clear, rather light than dark, somewhat heavy in the shoulders and not very light of foot,—this man is commonly called Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra.'

Navarrete remarks in conclusion, that

'If Cervantes is deserving of high regard for the fertility of his genius and the extent of his knowledge, he is not less worthy of esteem for his elevated virtues. He knew how, like a true Christian philosopher, to be religious without superstition, warm in his faith and worship without fanaticism, a lover of his country and his countrymen without prejudice, valiant in war without rashness, generous and charitable without ostentation, grateful for favors without servility, candid and thankful for just censure as much as for praise, moderate and indulgent towards his rivals, answering their satires and invectives with good temper; in fine, he never prostituted his pen through favor or interest, nor ever used it but for the good and happiness of his fellow men, and was always ready to praise to a degree that did more honor to the goodness of his heart than the correctness of his judgment.

'Such is the history of the life and writings of Miguel Cer-

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vantes de Saavedra; of that illustrious Spaniard, who, having shed his blood for his country in war, adorned it in peace with writings equally instructive and delightful, left a splendid example of virtue in his private relations, and finished his life with the tranquillity inspired by religion and Christian philosophy. If the mean passions of his contemporaries interrupted for a time the tribute of honor due to his elevated merit, the clouds which ignorance and envy raised have disappeared with the ignorant and the envious, and the judgment of impartial posterity has spread the fame of Cervantes wherever civilization and the love of letters are to be found; so that he is every where regarded as one of those remarkable men, whom Heaven sends on earth in favor to mankind, to console them for their sufferings, teach them the dignity of their nature, and enlighten and reform the world.'

ART. II.—*Education of the Deaf and Dumb.*

1. *De l'Education des Sourds-muets de naissance, par M. Degerando, Membre de l'Institut de France, Administrateur de l'Institut Royal des Sourds-muets, etc. etc.* 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1827.
2. *Troisième Circulaire de l'Institut Royal des Sourds-muets de Paris, à toutes les Institutions de Sourds-muets de l'Europe, de l'Amérique, et de l'Asie;*— Paris, Septembre, 1832.
3. *Reports of the American Asylum for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, first to seventeenth inclusive.* Hartford.
4. *Reports of the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, fifth to fourteenth, inclusive.* New York.
5. *Encyclopædia Americana,* Vol. IV. Article, *Dumb and Deaf.* Philadelphia, 1830.

'FRANCE,' says the distinguished author of the work first cited above, 'we confess it with regret, with surprise,—has been last to see the public attention directed to the art of instructing the deaf and dumb.' With equal surprise, if not with equal regret, we may observe of our own country, that, while this interesting art has been actually in practice among us for nearly twenty years; in the hands, too, of men distinguished for

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their ability; nothing has yet appeared to shed light upon its principles, or to gratify the public curiosity with regard to its processes. Hardly has, here and there, a feeble attempt been made to prepare a series of the simplest elementary school exercises; and nowhere do we find even the shadow of a systematic course of instruction, or of a nomenclature reduced to logical method, having its foundation in the connexion between derivative ideas, and the primitive ones of which they are composed, or from which they are abstracted.

But if, in this respect, our own country be still deficient, the labors of foreign writers have been so assiduous and so well directed, as to leave nothing, at least in mere theory, to be desired. Prolific Germany has produced her fifty writers on this single subject, considered in one or another of its aspects. France has more than retrieved the ground which she had lost; and from apathy, has passed almost to enthusiasm. Her rapid advances have left all competition far behind, and placed her decidedly at the head of the science and of the art. To her we owe the work of Degerando, the only complete treatise which the world has yet seen, on the education of the deaf and dumb,—a treatise, which, however particular systems may vary from it in their practical details, embraces those great fundamental principles, which, having their origin in the very nature of things, must lie at the foundation of all. Spain, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Prussia, Switzerland, England, have all contributed their share to the common stock of improvement.

Still, though we have in this country done nothing toward perfecting the theory of this noble art, and little toward reducing to system the details of its practice, we have done that which, to the eye of philanthropy, may seem of much higher importance. We have shown ourselves not insensible to the claim, which this remarkable portion of the human family have upon our sympathy and liberality. We have established institutions, which, though of less than twenty years' standing, occupy an elevated rank as well in character as in number. And though, in our extended country, the number of the deaf and dumb is great, and their wants inadequately supplied by the existing provision for their education, still the heart of the philanthropist is gladdened, whether he contemplates what has already been effected, or the disposition which manifests itself among our countrymen, to prosecute to its accomplishment whatever yet remains undone.

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Lamentable as the natural condition of the deaf and dumb evidently is, we have no satisfactory evidence, that, so lately as the commencement of the sixteenth century, the idea had ever occurred to any individual in any country, that this condition might be ameliorated by education. To impart instruction to a person affected by constitutional deafness, seemed an undertaking so palpably impossible, that its practicability was never even proposed as a problem, much less was it made a subject of examination and discussion. The speaking world had all acquired language through the medium of sound, and knowledge through the medium of language. The belief was therefore universally prevalent, that language could only be acquired through the ear, and was, consequently, in the nature of things, beyond the reach of the deaf and dumb. This pernicious prejudice had its origin in the highest antiquity. It has the express sanction of Aristotle, who, at a stroke of the pen, condemns the deaf and dumb to total and irremediable ignorance.

Prejudices still more severe than this, of a kind, too, to bring down upon the heads of their unfortunate objects evils, which nature, unindulgent as in their sad case she evidently is, would have spared them, have extensively prevailed at different times and in different places; nor are we permitted to say, that they are even yet entirely dissipated. Among some nations of antiquity, the deaf and dumb were regarded as beings laboring under the curse of Heaven. By the Romans, they were considered, if not as affected by positive idiocy, as at least deficient in intellect; and were, consequently, by the code of Justinian, abridged of their civil rights. The Abbé de l'Epeé* asserts that, in some barbarous countries, the deaf and dumb are even now regarded as monsters, and put to death at three years old or later, probably as soon as the fact of their calamity can be satisfactorily ascertained. The benevolent Abbé further tells us, that very respectable ecclesiastics of his own time openly condemned his undertaking; and that, too, on theological grounds. Parents, he remarks again, hold themselves disgraced by the fact of having a deaf and dumb child, and therefore conceal it with care from the eyes of the world, and confine it in some obscure retreat. Condillac denies to the deaf and dumb the faculty of memory,

* *Institution des sourds et muets.* Paris, 1776.

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and, as a necessary consequence, the power of reasoning. Even among ourselves, how often do we observe a species of contempt for this unhappy portion of our brethren, or an absolute aversion towards them, which neither philosophy will warrant, nor enlightened benevolence approve!

It is certainly remarkable, that the deaf and dumb should have been almost universally regarded, in every age, as beings placed, in respect to mental endowments, somewhere between man and the brute creation. Deafness, in itself, implies no deficiency of intellect. A man of education may become deaf; still his powers of mind will lose nothing of their vigor or activity. Blindness, in like manner, may supervene, without impairing, in the slightest degree, the mental faculties. The nerves which subserve these senses, and the mechanical apparatus with which they are connected, constitute only certain means of communication between the external world, and the intelligence within. They form no part of the intelligence itself. Let them be destroyed or paralyzed, and the communication is indeed cut off, or rendered imperfect; but the soul, the recipient of information through the channel of the sense impaired, suffers, in consequence, a merely negative loss,—a loss which consists in the failure, from that time forward, on the part of the sense impaired, to continue its usual observation upon external things, and to convey their results to the mind. To be deaf from birth, therefore, is not necessarily to belong to a class of beings of an inferior order of intellect, but only to be deficient in that species of information, which it is the province of the ear to collect without effort. It is to be ignorant, not weak, stupid, or savage. It is, indeed, to be ignorant in a very high and even fearful degree,—to be ignorant of history in its widest sense, of science, and of morality, save in its first instinctive glimmerings; to be ignorant of language, the great store-house of knowledge; and, above all, to be ignorant of religion,—to be, literally and strictly, 'without God in the world.' We are too apt to attribute ignorance to natural inferiority of intellect, even when the cause is palpable,—at least we too often associate these two accidents together. Thus have the deaf and dumb been judged deficient in intellect, because they were found to be so in that amount of information, which, in their circumstances, could only have been acquired by a miracle.

Still more surprising is the circumstance, that the education

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of these ignorant minds should so long have been regarded as a self-evident impossibility. To account for this, we must refer to another propensity of our nature, which is to believe, that things cannot easily exist otherwise than as we have known them. That order of events to which we have been long accustomed, or which, within our individual observation, has been invariably the same, seems at length to become the necessary order, and assumes the character and importance of a law, a departure from which would excite in us no less surprise, than to behold the sun rising in the west. Through the ear we have ourselves acquired our mother tongue. Through the ear we have learned the use of those visible characters, representing sounds, by means of which speech is depicted to the eye. Thus, through the ear, we have become possessed of all our means of accumulating knowledge, or of communicating with our fellow-men. And thus we conclude, that the ear must always be the channel, through which the mind is to acquire that species of knowledge, which this organ has been the means of conveying to us. But we conclude hastily.

Let us suppose society in its infancy, possessed of no language whatever. The eye and the ear equally present themselves, as instruments, through which a communication may be established between man and man. In the first instance, the eye offers the only means of intelligible intercourse. It is through the medium of signs addressed to this organ, that the value of other signs, more convenient in use, but infinitely more arbitrary, having sound as their basis, and addressing the intelligence through the eye, is gradually determined. This, which must necessarily take place in the circumstances supposed, is what does actually occur in the history of every infant, who learns his mother tongue, as is commonly supposed, entirely through the ear. It is what must take place in the case of a voyager, unexpectedly cast upon an unknown coast, and compelled to hold intercourse with a people, speaking an unknown language. For him articulate sounds assume their real character; they appear as the mere conventional representatives of ideas: and whether he desire to make known his wants, to recount the history of his misfortunes, to awaken compassion, to implore relief and protection, or to deprecate cruelty, he finds himself compelled to abandon signs which are merely arbitrary, and to resort to those which are the suggestion of nature,—to become, for the time being, dumb, and,

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with whatever art he may possess, to address the understandings of those whom he desires to influence, through the eye alone.

Ideas, then, may obviously associate themselves directly with visible signs, without regard to spoken language,—without regard, in short, to articulate and audible sounds. Hence it follows, that those who are naturally destitute of the sense of hearing are not to be considered as incapable of intellectual culture. The degree to which their improvement may be carried is a farther question, and for the purpose of solving it, it is of high importance, to an instructer of the deaf and dumb, to determine the intellectual and moral condition, previously to all instruction, of those to whom his labors are devoted. This, indeed, seems absolutely necessary, that he may acquaint himself with the magnitude of his task, and ascertain the point at which his labors are to commence. The natural history of the deaf and dumb has, accordingly, occupied the attention, to a greater or less degree, of every instructer. The conclusions to which the investigations of different men have led them, have, nevertheless, exhibited nothing like uniformity; and, in many instances, nothing like justice toward the unhappy objects upon which they were exercised. So severe, indeed, are the judgments emanating from men who rank among the most able, intelligent and humane of those who have devoted their lives to this subject, so humiliating a picture do they present us in their delineations of a being, possessing certainly a soul, if not a language, and so little do we find in our own observations to justify their opinions and statements, that we are led with astonishment to set them in contrast with the ordinary acuteness displayed by their authors, and to inquire if it be possible that such sentiments can proceed from such men. The Abbé de l'Epeé, whose name is synonymous with benevolence, ranks uneducated deaf and dumb persons with the brutes that perish.* The Abbé Sicard, his illustrious successor, declares that a 'deaf and dumb person is a perfect cypher in society, a living automaton, a statue, such as Condillac and Bonnet have represented him. He possesses not even that sure instinct, by which the animal creation are guided. He is alone in nature, with no possible exercise of his intellectual faculties, which remain without action, without life. As to morals, he

* *La véritable manière d'instruire les sourds et muets.* Paris, 1784.

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does not even suspect their existence. The moral world has no being for him, and virtues and vices are without reality.'*

It would be an unprofitable labor, in this place, to cite the numerous conflicting opinions, which the history of the art abundantly supplies. We quote a few by way of specimen. The learned and estimable instructer, Mr. T. Guyot of Groningen, assures us that the deaf and dumb are by nature cut off from the exercise of reason; that they are in every respect like infants, and if left to themselves will be so always: only that they possess greater strength, and that their passions, unrestrained by rule or law, are more violent; assimilating them rather to beasts than man.' † M. Eschke of Berlin says, 'The deaf and dumb live only for themselves; they acknowledge no social bond; they have no notion of virtue. Whatever they may do, we can impute their conduct to them neither for good nor for evil.' ‡ M. Cæsar of Leipsic remarks, that the 'deaf and dumb indeed possess the human form, but this is almost all, which they have in common with other men. The perpetual sport of impressions made upon them by external things, and of the passions which spring up in their own souls, they comprehend neither law nor duty, neither justice nor injustice, neither good nor evil; virtue and vice are to them as if they were not.' §

Unfortunate as the condition of a deaf and dumb person without education obviously is, it is hard to suppose him so utterly degraded in the scale of being, as these extracts would warrant us in believing. We should hardly know how to estimate the opinions so confidently, in many instances so dogmatically, expressed, did we not bear in mind, that the world is not yet free from the disposition, first to theorize, and afterwards to compel facts into an accordance, however unwarranted, with *a priori* views. Nor can we forget, that most of these instructers have brought to their task the prejudices, which we have already enumerated as once universal, and not yet extinct. Nor can we overlook the tendency, inherent in human nature, to magnify the achievements of personal exertion,

* *Cours d'instruction d'un sourd-muet de naissance.* 2d edition, Paris, 1803.

† Cited by the Abbé Montaigne, in his *Recherches sur les connoissances intellectuelles des sourds-muets: &c.* Paris, 1829.

‡ *Recherches sur les connoissances intellectuelles des sourds-muets, &c.*

§ Ibid.

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especially when a trivial coloring may impart to those achievements the character of the marvellous; when the world is sufficiently disposed to receive any statement, however extravagant; and when the known incompetency of the multitude to call such statement in question, renders the careful choice of expression a matter of little consequence. It is gratifying to observe that all have not yielded to this natural and seducing tendency, nor suffered themselves to be blinded by prejudice or deluded by speculative inquiry. M. Bébian, an accomplished colleague of Sicard, has given us his opinion in the following words: 'deaf and dumb persons only differ from other men in the privation of a single sense. They judge, they reason, they reflect. And if education exhibits them to us, in the full exercise of intelligence, it is because the instructer has received them at the hands of nature, endowed with all the intellectual faculties.'* M. Piroux, the accomplished teacher, now at the head of the institution at Nancy, in France, and formerly of the Royal Institution, expresses himself thus; 'Let us guard against believing, that the sole privation of speech deprives the deaf and dumb of every prerogative of moral life. Judgment and reason, memory and imagination, are faculties which spring up and form themselves by a natural impulse. The distinction of good and evil, and the moral sentiments, are a necessary consequence of the social relations.'† Peter Desloges, a deaf and dumb person, who lost his hearing at the age of seven years, having previously learned to read, asserts, with something perhaps of hyperbole, of the uninstructed deaf and dumb of his acquaintance, that 'there passes no event at Paris, in France, or in the four quarters of the globe, which does not afford matter of ordinary conversation among them.' Baron Degerando, whose conclusions are the result equally of philosophic inquiry, of personal observation, and of extensive intercourse and correspondence with practical men, uses the following language. 'The deaf and dumb, coming into the world with the intellectual faculties common to all men, though deprived of a sense and an organ, are capable of attention, of reflection, of imagination,

* *Journal de l'instruction des sourds-muets, et des aveugles.* No. 1. Paris, 1826.

† *Institut de sourds-muets des deux sexes, etabli à Nancy, &c.—Advertisement.*

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of judgment and of memory.' Of the writers who have so greatly exaggerated a calamity, already sufficiently deplorable, he observes, 'It is worthy of remark that no one among them has cited a single fact in support of his opinion.' He supposes many of these writers to have been influenced by the notions of the Abbé Sicard, which he cannot contemplate without extreme surprise; but which he attributes to the exalted idea which the worthy Abbé had formed of his own success,—an idea, which rendered him desirous of making the contrast between the educated and the ignorant dumb as wide as possible.

We shall see, however, that the views of Sicard underwent a remarkable change. In the advertisement to his *Théorie des Signes** he says, 'It will be observed that I have somewhat exaggerated the sad condition of the deaf and dumb in their primitive state, when I assert that virtue and vice are to them without reality. I was conducted to these assertions, by the fact, that I had not yet possessed the means of interrogating them upon the ideas which they had before their education; or that they were not sufficiently instructed to understand, and reply to my questions. I have always taught that the law of nature is engraved, by the creating hand, upon the soul of man; that this law is anterior to all sensible impressions, which our organs receive; that it is nothing else than the light divine, which teaches man his duties; which awards him the meeds of approbation and happiness when he is faithful, and punishes him when he transgresses its dictates.'

Regarding, therefore, the deaf and dumb as beings possessed of an intelligence not wholly inactive; beings, not entirely shut out from communication with their fellows: not entirely without interest in that which is passing before them; not wholly unaccustomed to reason and to reflect; and not absolutely without ideas, appertaining to the intellectual and moral worlds; it becomes important to examine, how great a degree of development their mental powers are capable of attaining, and how far the circle of their ideas naturally extends. This inquiry has relation, of course, only to those dumb persons who have been deaf from birth. In every case in which deafness has supervened at a later period, the faculties of the

* *Théorie des Signes, pour servir d'introduction à l'étude des langues, &c.*, 2 vols. Paris, 1818.

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mind may have received considerable cultivation before that event. Even language may have been preserved, as in the case of Desloges, after the power of utterance is gone. Cases of this kind are, evidently, widely different from that of an individual, who, never having heard a sound, has of course never attempted to articulate, and for whom language, whether written or spoken, has ever been a sealed book.

It is not to be supposed, that the intellectual faculties of the deaf and dumb will as frequently be called into exercise as those of other persons; it is not, indeed, possible that they should be. The development of those faculties will, therefore, be much less rapid; on account, at once, of this want of exercise, and of the greater labor requisite to conduct mental operations by the direct intuition of ideas, than by means of the signs which artificial languages afford to represent them. It is a consequence, also, of their calamity, that they are cut off from all that species of traditional knowledge, which naturally flows from generation to generation; which is imparted almost unconsciously, and treasured in the memory almost without effort. The experience of the human race in each succeeding age is constantly adding something to the floating wealth of mind; but of all this the unfortunate deaf and dumb know, and can know nothing,—nothing, at least, in comparison with the world which is to be known. In fact, it is, in their case, strictly true, as is remarked by M. Bébian, that 'the world, so to speak, commences with them. Still the very calamity which shuts them out even from the pale of that knowledge which is open to infancy, and familiar to the child of half a dozen years, is not without its favorable influence upon the originality of their conceptions, and the activity of their intellect. Their attainments, however humble, are at least the fruit of their own labor; and their opinions, however, at times, erroneous, are still the result of their own independent reasoning upon such data as are within their reach. Their ingenuity is continually awake, to supply the deficiency of their information, and to break down, or at least to weaken, the barrier between themselves and the speaking world.'

A strong inducement with the deaf and dumb to become close observers, is found in the nature of their language. This beautiful language is their own creation, and is a visible testimony to the activity of their intellect. It is a language of action, full of force, full of animation, full of figurative expres-

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sion, oftentimes full of grace. In the province of pantomime they are themselves the masters, and those who hold intercourse with them, must be content to receive the instrument at their hands. The elements of this language, the words, so to speak, which compose it, consisting, within the domain of sense, strictly of imitations, whether of objects or of actions, and beyond that limit, first of those universally intelligible signs, by which the mind involuntarily betrays its emotions, and secondly of metaphoric expressions, founded upon the analogies which exist between objects and actions in the physical world and intellectual and moral notions, require an accurate eye, and a constant exercise of ingenuity on the part of its inventor.

A language, the work of a single individual, and that one laboring under the painful privation to which the deaf and dumb are subject, must necessarily suffer in comparison with those, which, in the lapse of ages, have been approaching perfection, and on which a multitude of minds have left the traces of their labors. Still, imperfect as it is, it has its advantages; it employs no expletives merely to fill a place; its signs are not rendered uncertain by being made to represent a multiplicity of ideas; it is unencumbered by the forms of artificial grammar, with their exceptions and anomalies; and, above all, resting upon analogy and description as its basis, it interprets itself. If, therefore, it is less the language of philosophy, it is more that of nature. Its copiousness is found to vary with different individuals, and with different ages. Those deaf and dumb persons, on whom particular attention is bestowed by their parents and friends, who have been, in short, willing learners, will prove themselves ready inventors, and delighted teachers. Those, on the contrary, who are neglected and thrust out of society, will hardly extend their dictionary of signs beyond the limit to which their physical wants compel them. Still it would be unjust to conclude that this is likewise the limit of their ideas. Signs are primarily instituted, whatever uses they may afterwards subserve, as instruments of communication. He, with whom none will hold intercourse, will hardly busy himself in perfecting a language, which he will never have occasion to use. This is not, however, to suppose him without ideas, wherever signs are wanting. It is only to suppose, that the mind employs itself with ideas, directly, rather than with their representatives. In like manner

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as a draughtsman, in copying a design, fixes in his mind the image of a particular line, which he is about to transfer into his work, without being conscious of giving it a name; so the deaf and dumb conceive ideas, for which they have no visible representative.

To persons not familiar with the language of action, it will hardly be found comprehensible, in its present state. However accurate originally may be its imitations, however striking its analogies, it invariably undergoes, in the hands of the dumb, a species of abbreviation, which leaves it little title to the character which has been claimed for it, of constituting a natural and universal language. Thought continually outstrips the slowness of pantomime; and the mind, impatient of delay, rejects the details of description, and seizing the characteristic, which, in each object, stands most prominently forth, substitutes it, at once, for the object itself. The same is true of ideas purely intellectual. The metaphor which supplies them with a visible representative, is reduced to a single sign; which, to be intelligible, must presuppose a knowledge of the subordinate portion of the picture, and which is, consequently, always more or less arbitrary. By the institution of these abbreviated signs, usually denominated *signs of reduction*, the language of action becomes singularly elliptical, as well as figurative. The ellipses will readily be supplied by one in frequent intercourse with the deaf and dumb, even when they occur in cases entirely new. But to a stranger, it will be necessary to exhibit the language as it is in its infancy, before the process of reduction has commenced; and to sacrifice rapidity for the sake of clearness. This necessity will be instantly perceived by the dumb, and cheerfully complied with. And if one form of expression is found to fail, another and another will be supplied, with an almost exhaustless fertility of invention. Here will be apparent the fruit of that minute observation, which omits to treasure up no circumstance, likely afterwards to be of use in recounting past events, in describing absent objects, or in assisting those inquiries, by which the observer desires to obtain information from others.

As, on the one hand, the dialects invented by deaf and dumb persons, living separately, are seldom extensively similar; so, on the other, they are rarely, if ever, without some resemblance. But that which they have in common is but a small portion of the whole. Degerando remarks, that the signs

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which usually differ are those denoting the very numerous class of material objects; while those which indicate the affections of the soul, the few intellectual ideas in possession of the individuals, the common wants and ordinary usages of life, and objects of immediate personal use, are often identical.

It cannot be doubted, that, under ordinary circumstances, the uninstructed deaf and dumb possess a certain power of discrimination on moral subjects. They are certainly capable of distinguishing between good and evil, justice and injustice, for they spontaneously express their indignation against the perpetrator of any enormity, though by no means affecting them directly or indirectly. They are conscious of possessing certain rights, and they cannot but infer the existence of such rights in others. Thus, they have a notion of the right of property, which is not the less real, that it does not always prevent them from invading that right. What is there wonderful in this? How many, with the light of revelation to guide them, and with the denunciations of the civil and the divine laws equally hanging over their heads, are guilty of similar violence to their consciences! But it would little avail the culprit to plead his crime in extenuation of his criminality. We moreover believe that the deaf and dumb have, in this respect, been severely judged. When M. Paulmier, a gentleman associated with Sicard, asserts that newly arrived pupils usually plunder each other, he says that, which our own observation, at least, will not bear him out in asserting.

That the notions of every individual should attain, without instruction, the same degree of distinctness, is not to be supposed. Much depends upon the early situation of the dumb, within the family or social circle. Some are indeed alone in the world, neglected and despised by all around them; others are regarded as objects of high interest, not only by their connexions, but also by all the intelligent and the humane in their vicinity. These latter partake, in some degree, the blessings of social intercourse, and experience its beneficial effects in the multiplication of their ideas, and the expansion of their minds. Hence may arise a diversity almost infinite. Cases may, doubtless, occur, in which the mental faculties will remain buried in a deathlike slumber for years. If, as the Abbé de l'Epeé asserts, 'some parents, holding themselves disgraced by the birth of a deaf child, confine it in a cloister,' what can we expect of such a being, but that he should strictly

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correspond to Sicard's description,—that he should, in fact, remain for life 'a living automaton, a walking statue?

Two things seem to be necessary to intellectual development, viz. the observation of objects, actions, facts and phenomena, and the intercourse of mind with mind. If neither of these conditions exist, the human being remains a mere animal. To the truth of this position, we have the melancholy testimony of experiment, in the case of the injured Caspar Hauser. If either exist singly, the expansion of the mind will proceed but slowly. Thus, we shall deceive ourselves, if, from the absence or the obtuseness of the moral sense, in the case of a dumb person who has, all his life, been treated like a brute, and has, therefore, been dependent almost wholly upon observation and solitary reflection for the ideas he possesses, we hastily infer a similar deficiency in all his companions in misfortune.

The view here taken of this question, is far from having received the unanimous suffrage of those, who have published their opinions regarding it to the world. The Abbé Montaigne, a French ecclesiastic, formerly connected with the school at Paris in the capacity of chaplain, has endeavored to establish a contrary position; as well by argument, as by collecting the testimony of eminent teachers.* The Abbé seems fully to have entered into the views of his favorite author, M. De Bonald, 'that language is the necessary instrument of every intellectual operation, and the *means* of every moral existence;' and that, 'to consider moral notions, words are indispensable.' The conclusions of such a writer need not be detailed. They are discoverable in his premises.

The particular reference of the Abbé Montaigne's inquiry is to the subject of Religion. In this respect, his views are not widely different from our own. But when, in his argument, he includes the whole field of morals, we are compelled to enter our dissent. And when, in his array of testimony, he cites the names of Sicard, Bébian, and Berthier, we are forced to believe, that excess of zeal has blinded him, either to the meaning of language, or to the exercise of candor. We have already cited the explicit recantation, made by the first of these men, of his early views. The second affords us so many

* Recherches sur les connoissances intellectuelles des sourds-muets, considérés par rapport à l'administration des sacrémens. Paris, 1829.

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instances of opposition to the positions of Montaigne, that it is hardly worth our while to quote. The opinion of the third, being that of one dumb from birth, deserves attention; and we accordingly give it a place. It relates to the religious notions of the deaf and dumb. 'It is possible,' he says, 'that some deaf and dumb persons may attribute certain effects, as storms, wind and hail, to a certain cause; and may figure to themselves one or more extraordinary beings commanding the rain, the lightning and other natural phenomena; but a deaf and dumb person, without instruction, will never have a notion, even vague and confused, of a superior existence, whom it is his duty to love, revere and obey, and to whom he must give an account of his thoughts, and of his actions.' Such is our own belief. We are acquainted with no instance of a deaf and dumb person, who has arrived, without instruction, at the idea of a God. Nor can we believe with Degerando, that a mind possessing so few resources, can ever attain, by its unaided reflections, to a notion of a supreme power, possessing a right to our worship and gratitude. Yet we are very far from believing language, whether written or spoken, necessary to communicate this notion; and we know, in fact, that, in all our American Institutions, religious knowledge is, to a great extent, imparted to the pupils, through the medium of signs of action, long before words are available to them as an instrument of communication.

From this sketch of the natural condition of the deaf and dumb, we pass to consider the means, by which they may be relieved. The first essential to all instruction is, evidently, that a medium of reciprocal communication shall exist between the instructer and the instructed. To the former, we suppose pantomime a novel language. He is incapable of holding a connected conversation with his pupil; for he can neither understand nor can he make himself understood. The parties must, therefore, for the time, change places. The first requisite to his own instruction, must be supplied by the pupil himself. He must give lessons, and the master must become the learner.

A short time will suffice for the establishment of a common language, sufficiently extensive for the first exigencies of the teacher's task. But this extent will soon be found too restricted. Yet it can hardly be enlarged, except as the circle of ideas, common to the teacher and the pupil, expands itself.

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For, beside identity of signs, a second condition is essential to intelligent intercourse, viz. identity of ideas.

When two natives of different countries meet, each unacquainted with the language of the other, they find themselves possessed of a vast multitude of ideas in common, while the audible or written signs, representing those ideas, differ, for the two, as widely as caprice can make them. These two individuals fulfil the second condition, but not the first,—they possess identity of ideas without identity of signs. Between them, the establishment of a common language resolves itself into a series of conventions.

Vastly different is the case with the deaf and dumb, and their instructers; where the number of common ideas is small, and even those not presenting themselves always under the same aspect to the minds of both. Between the ignorant and the learned in any country, there certainly exists a wide difference, as respects their habits of reflection, and the extent of their information; and consequently as respects the number of well-defined ideas which they possess. But this difference is not greater, than that which divides uneducated deaf and dumb persons even from the inferior order of those who speak.

So far as there is an actual community of ideas between the deaf and dumb and their instructers, the value of words may be communicated by the simple process of translation. But this limit must soon be passed, and we must then enter upon that labor, which constitutes, whatever be the particular system pursued, the real peculiarity, and, it may be added, the real difficulty of the art, viz. that of leading the pupil, by judicious methods, to the formation of a system of ideas, corresponding with the words of spoken language. Here, indeed, is a task of no trifling magnitude. But the learner, though not yet possessed of the ideas themselves, possesses, nevertheless, the materials of which they are to be formed. The whole circle of ideas, which make up the sum of human knowledge, pertain, of necessity, to the world of matter, or to that of mind. The one lies open before the deaf and dumb,—it is our part only to teach him system in conducting his observations. For the other, he possesses the same faculties as we, and it is only necessary to bring them into operation.

We should remember, that it is no creative power, which we are called upon to exercise. We neither fabricate minds,

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nor the material on which they are to be employed. We cannot even be said to *impart ideas*, according to the vulgar notion of such a process. What is more common than the remark, that while there seems to be nothing wonderful or mysterious in the fact that the deaf and dumb may be taught the nomenclature of visible objects, it is impossible to conceive how notions, purely abstract, can, for the first time, be communicated to them? The difficulty, however, is in a great degree created by the manner of considering it. It is, indeed, hard to imagine, how, by means of any *a priori* description, such an idea as that to which we apply the name *justice*, could be conveyed to an intelligence, to which it should be new. It is not by such means that it is conveyed. Nor has it been by such means, that we ourselves have learned to associate this and similar words with their corresponding ideas. The deaf and dumb are not to be placed on the pinnacle of the temple of science in a day. They cannot plant their feet upon the last step of the ascent, but by passing the intermediate points. There is no great gulf fixed between the extremes of simplicity and difficulty in language, which it is necessary with one mighty effort to overleap, or to abandon in despair the hope of those advantages, which artificial nomenclatures afford to mankind. From the highest to the lowest point, the chain of association is unbroken, and, if strictly followed, will lead, through every maze, into the clear light of day.

From the remarks just made, result the four propositions (with the exception of the last of which the reason is obvious,) which follow; and which may be regarded as fundamental in the instruction of the deaf and dumb.

I. Instruction should commence, with borrowing from the deaf and dumb themselves their own natural language of pantomime, in its full extent.

II. The instructer should carefully ascertain how far the ideas of his pupils extend before instruction, and how far they are just: he should know the extent, that he may build upon it, and the limit, that he may not exceed it.

III. He should avail himself of those materials, possessed by the deaf and dumb in common with us, to aid in the formation of a system of ideas, corresponding to that represented by the words of our language.

IV. He must present to the eye of his pupil, language under a visible form, and under this form must teach him to associate its terms directly with their corresponding ideas.

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To restore language merely to the deaf and dumb, is not however, the teacher's only task. Language, as written, must be made to subserve, for him, all the purposes, which speech fulfils in the case of other men. It is the office of spoken language, not only to afford an easy and universal means of communication among men, but also to aid the conception and arrangement of ideas; and to facilitate the operations of the intellect. Every instrument, it is true, which shall answer the first of these ends, must, necessarily, at least to some extent, assist the exercise of the intelligence. But it is not equally true, that whatever instrument shall supply the intellect with the means of activity, shall also enable the individual who employs it, freely to hold intercourse with other men: since the teacher may devise a language, whether of action or of writing, which may be intelligible only to himself and his pupil. In the present case, indeed, he might easily create one, much more easy of acquisition, than any which actually exists. Yet, as this would but partially fulfil the purposes of his education, the deaf and dumb must be content to take language as it is, encumbered with all its difficulties, its anomalies, its phrases and its idioms. Hence, in the words of Degerando, 'It is necessary to put the deaf and dumb in possession of the common language of his country, in so effectual a manner, that he may, first, find in this instrument the means of obtaining, in the highest possible degree, the intellectual culture, in which he is deficient; and, secondly, that it may afford him the means of communication, the most constant and general, with his fellow-men. Whence it follows, that to enable him to use this language, we must afford him the material means, which is, itself, of most universal and familiar use.'

Here are presented two different species of labor in the field of instruction; the one relating simply to the material or mechanical means, by which language is to be employed in practice; the other, to the value of language itself. Thus early does the art begin to ramify; and, from this point, the systems of instruction, most widely differing, date their divergence.

By adopting the material form under which language appears to the deaf and dumb most simple, and under which it may be most easily acquired by one incapable of distinguishing between articulate sounds, time is gained for the more accurate study of language itself; while, as respects ease and rapidity of communication with the world, something is neces-

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sarily lost. By cultivating, on the other hand, a more rapid means of communication, time is wasted in an employment almost wholly mechanical; while the ease of intercourse, consequent on such an attainment, will render it a valuable auxiliary to the pupil, in rectifying his knowledge of words, and of the forms of speech in ordinary use among his more favored fellow beings.

The material instrument which first suggests itself, as adapted to the wants of the deaf and dumb, is writing. Being already in use, and generally understood in society, it affords all the means absolutely necessary to the purposes of communication between man and man. Still it is a process always laborious, often exceedingly inconvenient; it exacts a great consumption of time, and requires him who is dependent on it to be always furnished with the materials which its employment renders indispensable. It is, therefore, certainly desirable, that the deaf and dumb should acquire, if such an acquisition be possible, some method more rapid than this, for the purposes of colloquial intercourse. Still, the nature of things confines our choice within narrow limits. Writing and artificial articulation are the only means which present themselves, available to the deaf and dumb, and, at the same time, universally intelligible among men.

The field is less circumscribed, when we address ourselves to the second part of our task, which is that of teaching language itself. We may here pursue the course, which nature has made necessary in ordinary education; to give the learner, first a practical knowledge of language, and afterwards methodical instruction in its principles; or we may combine these two branches of instruction into one. The latter is evidently the most cumbrous method, and the most tardy in its results; yet it is the plan of Sicard in his *Cours d'Instruction*, and it has the authority of other respectable names.

Either plan subdivides itself into two branches, of which the one is logical, the other grammatical. It will be the province of the former to acquaint the pupil with the value of language in discourse, and of the other to develope its principles.

Each of these ramifications will have two subordinate divisions: the former embracing the significations of isolated words, and the consideration of their combined value in propositions; the latter, the elements of language on the one hand, and the principles of construction on the other. Thus

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in this second, and more difficult part of the undertaking, four distinct objects present themselves.

Whichever route, of those distinguished above, it is determined to pursue, the teacher will be more or less at liberty to make his selection from among all the different combinations of means, which have received the name of methods of instruction. He should not, however, forget the influence of methods upon the development of the intellectual faculties; but, bearing in mind that it will belong to him, as much to supply the pupil with means for self-education, after he is removed from the eye of the master, as to convey positive knowledge to his mind, he should rather choose those methods, which call the mental faculties into most active, continued and beneficial exercise.

We have now, in general terms, stated that which is to be accomplished in the education of the deaf and dumb. Methods must next occupy our attention, together with the material instruments which they employ, and by the combination of which they are distinguished from one another. Since, however, all methods equally propose to teach, or rather to create for the deaf and dumb a language, we will first present some preliminary considerations, peculiar to no individual system.

'There is,' says Degerando, 'in the operations of the human mind, a primitive and principal phenomenon, to which all others attach themselves, and upon which the creation and the use of our languages exercise a considerable influence. This phenomenon, which we will denominate intuition, is properly the act by which the mind beholds the objects of its knowledge. Intuition is, to the human intelligence, the sole fountain of all light.'

Intuition is of two kinds, distinguished by Degerando as real, and rational. The mind, by means of the former, immediately and directly perceives whatever actually exists. This is the intuition of things and their images. The other is the perception of conditions and relations, which subsist among notions previously formed. It is the intuition of reflection and reasoning. It is the immediate act of judging. The objects of real intuition pertain alike to the physical, the intellectual and the moral worlds. It is by rational intuition that we seize the results of comparison, perceive the connexion between truths, and foresee consequences in principles. It presides, therefore, in every mental operation.

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The exercise of rational intuition implies the presence of objects, with respect to which it may be exerted. Wherever real intuition exists, rational intuition follows as a consequence. It is involuntary; and were we able, by a single effort, to grasp every subject of thought in all its minute particulars, could we hold them up at once to the immediate vision of the mind, truths, which are now the deductions of laborious reasoning, would become axioms. But the power which we possess, of thus directly contemplating objects, is inadequate to such an effort. It is restricted in its operation within a narrow compass: and were the total of our knowledge limited to that which is strictly intuitive, we should be condemned to a lamentable degree of intellectual poverty. It is by the aid of the signs which language affords, that we are enabled to exercise rational intuition, when the real view of its objects is no longer possible.

To obtain a clear idea of a new and complicated machine, we observe carefully all its parts. When we recall the same machine to mind, we rapidly retrace the image, not at once of the whole, but of the individual parts successively. The idea of this machine cannot be perfect, until the detail of particulars is filled up. This, which is the process of real intuition, is at once tardy and laborious. Were it necessary that the elements of every complex idea should be thus set in array before the mind, as often as that idea is recalled, it is evident that no room would remain for the exercise of rational intuition; in short, that our reasonings must sink under their own weight, and that the extension of our sphere of knowledge, beyond the list of truths which receive the name of axioms, would be impossible. But happily this is not necessary. A single brief sign takes the place of a load of details, and, like the light and portable representative of a metallic currency, enables us to use our wealth, without being encumbered by its weight.

Names, further, enable us not merely to dispense with this mass of particulars; but they afford us the means, also, of operating upon objects, which cannot be submitted to real intuition. Take, for example, the word *man*. To form a general idea of man, embracing all those properties, whether of mind or of body, in which the individuals of the human race constantly resemble each other, and rejecting every particular, not appertaining to the whole family, is an acknowledged impossibility. Considering *man* as a collective, rather than an abstract term, the difficulty is

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equally great. It is too high an effort for the mind, really and at once to conceive a clear and distinct image of the various races, ages and sexes, which go to make up the world of mankind. Thus we perceive, that, though the terms of our language may not always be the names of images, which the mind can directly and immediately behold, they still represent objects of positive knowledge.

Signs, from their simplicity, may be immediately contemplated. The conditions, which were obscured by a mass of details, so long as real objects were kept laboriously in view, now stand prominently forth. The mind employs itself with signs simply, it is true; but in so doing, in effect, it operates upon the ideas themselves. In this manner it advances gradually to the formation of notions, which, like the example above, are beyond the limit of real intuition.

To pursue this subject farther, would draw us aside from our main design, which is to introduce the principle, that instruction in language should be founded upon the observation and study of real objects,—that words should only appear, when the real acquisition of knowledge renders them necessary. This principle is a simple one, but its reason lies deeper than would at first be imagined. It is, that from this very primitive observation, by refinements more or less extended, have sprung all the terms of language. They are the landmarks established by the mind, to note its progress, and assist in directing its course, as it advances beyond the boundary of real intuition. As ideas without words are a possession of little value; so words without ideas are worse than useless, yet how many words do children acquire by rote, which, because they utter, they are presumed to understand.

A method of instruction, resting strictly upon the principle of intuition, is by no means as easy in practice, as it appears in theory. There is so great a tendency in the human mind to overleap details, especially when they are familiar and simple, that the teacher will often find himself involuntarily leading his pupil, by strides too rapid for his unpractised steps.

But, much more frequently, this principle fails to receive due attention in the school-room, from ignorance or wilful neglect. It is to restore it to its rightful preëminence, and to compel a universal and practical acknowledgement of its paramount importance, that the efforts of modern reformers in education are chiefly exerted.

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In applying the principle of intuition to the instruction of the deaf and dumb, we perceive at once the importance, the necessity even, of some system of nomenclature, which shall follow, as nearly as possible, the genealogical succession of ideas; that order, in which each idea naturally suggests its succession, and hence, also, of course, explains it. To say nothing of the clearness, which such an arrangement is adapted to create in the ideas of the learner, the labor of instruction, by means of it, is very materially economized. We have a measure of the pupil's attainments in the number of words which he has acquired; and thus we know where to avoid the repetition of details, which have already been made familiar. The words, which the learner successively adds to his vocabulary, constitute a kind of mechanical power, to aid in extending the circle of his knowledge. It is far otherwise, where words are taught as chance may direct. The same series of particulars must be actually presented to the mind in repeated instances, and without the pauses and points of repose, presented by the successive steps of a judiciously arranged system. The mind is, in consequence, encumbered by its burthen; its ultimate ideas are indistinct and vague; and it can hardly be said to possess the knowledge which it has acquired, since, in too many instances, it will be diffident of the truth of its conceptions. Still, a system of nomenclature, arranged on the principle above suggested, is perhaps an impracticable creation; at least if it is designed to embrace the great body of words, which compose a language. It is an ideal perfection, to which we can only approximate. Particular sciences afford an illustration of the desideratum; but it is perhaps too much to expect that this can ever be attained in that portion of a language, which does not admit of the exactness of mathematical definition.

Systems classify themselves according to the different degrees of importance which they attach, respectively, to the different instruments, which may be made to fulfil the office of speech. These instruments are five in number; viz. design, the language of action, dactylology, alphabetic writing, and the labial alphabet, accompanied by artificial pronunciation. The principle of classification will be more readily comprehended, after a brief examination of each of these particulars, and of the extent to which it can be beneficially employed.

A radical distinction must here be noticed, according to

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which the instruments, just enumerated, arrange themselves under two heads; to wit, those which more properly represent ideas, and those which represent words merely. To the former description belong design and the language of action; to the latter, writing, dactylology, and the oral and labial alphabets.

The utility of design would, at first view, seem to be confined to the simple interpretation of the nomenclature of visible objects. A little consideration will show, however, that the resources, which it offers to the teacher, are much more extended. Actions, conditions, qualities, relations, are all capable of being depicted; and hence verbs, adjectives and prepositions are within its province.

M. Bébian has availed himself of its facilities to explain the use of the articles, the formation of abstract nouns, and the degrees of comparison. It is easily applicable to the exhibition of passions and emotions, by imitating the traces of their effects in the countenance and attitude. By means of allegory, it may be applied to the illustration of notions still more refined. There exists no subject, however removed from the domain of sense, to the elucidation of which its aid may not be invoked. Systems have been built upon the use of this instrument alone. It has been made the basis even of religious instruction. It was by means of pictures and diagrams, that Father Vanin, an instructer at Paris before the time of De l'Epée, attempted even to expound the mysterious doctrines of the Incarnation, and of a Triune God. The result of his efforts was, however, very unsatisfactory. M. Sabouréux de Fontenay, one of his pupils, afterwards highly distinguished under the tutelage of Pereiré, speaks thus of the effect produced upon his own mind. 'I believed that God the Father was a venerable old man, residing in the heavens; that the Holy Ghost was a dove, surrounded with light; that the Devil was a hideous monster, dwelling in the depths of the earth, &c. Thus I possessed sensible, material, mechanical ideas of religion.'

Such a recital might shake our faith in the utility of emblematic explanations, as applied to moral or religious notions, did we not perceive that the result in this case was the natural consequence of the original error, which made design the great instrument of instruction. A proper distinction must be observed in the mode of its use; according to the nature of the subject, with regard to which it is employed. Whatever is material may

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be directly explained by design; and this instrument may, here, be implicitly relied on with security. That which pertains to the intellectual and moral world, can only be *illustrated* by visible metaphorical representations; which though liable to mislead when made the principal dependence, impart, nevertheless, a very happy light to difficult notions, when used as accessory to other more certain means.

The great utility of design consists in the economy of time, which it introduces into the system of instruction; and in the certainty and precision, which (whenever employed not in an emblematic, but an absolute sense) it imparts to the ideas conveyed. A picture is not necessarily limited to the definition of a single word. It may represent a proposition. It may be made to explain the different usages of language; and here is one of the great advantages, which this instrument possesses, for the instructer.

The use of design in the education of the deaf and dumb, is a subject which has not yet received from teachers the attention which it merits. The resources, afforded by this instrument, have not been fully developed, nor well understood, even by those who have employed it most in practice.* The Abbé de l'Epée rejected it entirely. In this country it has been principally employed, in defining the nomenclature of visible objects. A system of designs, judiciously chosen and judiciously arranged, is exceedingly to be desired. The task of preparing such a series, is not indeed one of small magnitude. Of all the attempts which have been made, and the plans which have been proposed in Europe, no one seems to have met with universal approbation. Hardly has any one found an advocate beyond the original proposer. Still an imperfect system is better than none, and we cannot refrain, here, from

* In these remarks we have, perhaps, done injustice to M. Piroux, the able director of the Institution at Nancy. A series of designs has been projected by that gentleman, intended to exhibit objects qualities, relations, actions and states of being; and to afford visible illustrations of formulas of language, considerably involved. Thus, sentences like the following are explained by single pictures: 'A woman who is carrying a child in her arms,' 'A dog, which is chasing a hare across a plain.' The object of M. Piroux is, chiefly, to diminish the expense of education, by furnishing the means for primary instruction, in the common schools or within the family circle, before admission into a special institution. He would have his books universally distributed, at the public expense. But one number, we believe, has yet appeared.

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recommending to the instructers in America an effort in concert, to supply the deficiency.

The language of action is of essential importance in the education of the deaf and dumb. No system can dispense with the employment of this instrument. Its necessity, as a first means of communication, between the master and the pupil, is an axiom; and is the substance of the first fundamental principle of the art. Still no question has been more vigorously discussed, than that of the extent to which this means should be employed in instruction, and of the degree of development which should be given to it as a language.

That the language of action is capable of being reduced to system, and advanced to the perfection of spoken language, is a truth self-evident, at least to those, who have been accustomed to its use.

No one can doubt, that, were a whole people of deaf and dumb persons to exist together from generation to generation, they would construct a visible language, equally copious, and equally perfect with the languages now in use; nor that they would add to this a corresponding system of ideographic writing. But this perfection could only exist in a state of high intellectual cultivation. Language being simply the nomenclature of ideas, its copiousness must always be the measure of their multiplication. Supposing the language of action, therefore, to have attained an extent comparable to that of speech; we must suppose also a corresponding development of intellect, and a corresponding accumulation of knowledge in those with whom it originates.

Such a language would, of course, be far from being adapted to the circumstances of the deaf and dumb as they exist. Its signs, to them, would be without meaning; except so far as the limited circle of their ideas extends. It was, nevertheless, the notion of De l'Epeé, a notion adopted by his illustrious successor, that to extend the vocabulary of signs, until it is made to correspond with that of spoken language, is all that is wanting, to reduce the labor of instruction to a mere process of translation. He conceived that the deaf and dumb might acquire a first language, by the same process which enables us to acquire a second and a third. But in this view of the subject, plausible as it appears, there is a radical error. We have already seen, that what is peculiar in this art consists, not in the imposition of signs upon ideas, but in conducting the pupil

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to the formation of the ideas themselves. A language of action may be, indeed, devised and taught, which, in conformity with the views of De l'Epée and Sicard, shall strictly correspond, even in its grammatical forms, with that of speech. This language may be translated into that of speech or writing; yet, after all, the process may prove merely mechanical; and we shall have accomplished nothing toward the removal of the real difficulty. From personal observation, we can, in fact, bear witness to the possibility of dictating to deaf and dumb persons complicated sentences, embracing the most serious grammatical difficulties, and of obtaining from them the corresponding words, properly arranged; while they, themselves, are utterly incapable of comprehending that which they have produced.

Let us look at this subject in the light of reason. The deaf and dumb present themselves before us, with a stock of ideas comprised within narrow limits; and for these they have usually corresponding signs. Our task is to multiply these ideas. It will not suffice merely to extend the vocabulary. Each addition to the list of signs must represent some reality, now, for the first time, made a part of the pupil's knowledge. Let us suppose our efforts successful in extending the circle of that knowledge but a single step. We have communicated one notion, to which the learner was previously a stranger. It remains to impose a sign upon this notion. Whether this sign shall be a word or an action is for us to choose. If an action, then translation must follow. Why this circuitous route? Is any thing gained by it? On the contrary, is there not something lost? We desire to make our own language the medium, to the deaf and dumb, not only of communication but of thought. This is among our fundamental principles. How can we more successfully attain this end, than by giving him but a single sign for each new idea; and that sign, one appertaining to the class which we desire him to adopt?

But, again, the imposition of signs upon words, if the principle of the Abbé de l'Epée be adopted, must take place, in many instances, without a careful determination of the corresponding idea. Otherwise there can be no translation, worthy of the name; but only a double imposition of signs upon the same idea, constituting a load cumbrous to the memory, and dividing the attention between synonymous terms. If signs of action on the other hand be instituted, which are in themselves

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insignificant, they may be productive of very bad consequences. The deaf and dumb person is accustomed to recognise nothing in his language which has not meaning. He does not, and he cannot, suspect insignificancy in any sign. To that, therefore, which is intended to represent an idea above his capacity, he attaches an idea of his own; an idea in the nature of things erroneous. By giving, then, to his language the degree of development aimed at by De l'Epée, the master is sure to encumber him with a mass, either of useless, or of unintelligible signs,—useless, in the first instance, when we consider that it is in words, and not in pantomime, that we desire him to think; unintelligible, in the second, when we remember that these signs are imposed upon no real basis. In the one case, we thwart our own principal design; in the other, we, at best, bewilder the learner.

Signs, established in the manner considered above, have received the appellation *methodical*. It was the favorite labor of Sicard to systematize and perfect them. In spite of the disadvantage inseparable from their use, pupils, distinguished for their attainments, have been produced by the masters who have employed them; but this circumstance serves only to demonstrate the ability of the masters themselves.

In determining how far the language of action may be really useful in facilitating instruction, we must consider it in the several stages in which it is intelligible to the pupil; in which, in fact, it is his own work; guided, it may be, by the teacher; but not reduced, as the theory of methodical signs presumes, to conformity with a language, which must be understood before the conformity can be comprehended. Great imperfection must be expected in the signs which are the creation of the deaf and dumb person himself. These signs may be submitted to the correction of the master. In fact, in an institution where numbers are collected together, a more philosophical system, the joint production of teachers and pupils will be early established; and will be adopted by each pupil on his arrival. It is hardly possible, with every individual, to follow out a series of lessons, by which he may be guided, from a more accurate understanding of things, to a more correct mode of expression concerning them. He abandons his own signs for those which he finds actually in use, not because they appear to him more appropriate, but because they are universally intelligible. Still his own individual

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signs will be carefully observed by the instructer; since they afford a valuable means of penetrating the extent of his knowledge, of discovering how far his ideas of things are just, of determining the degree of his intellectual development, and of ascertaining the limit of his capacity.

The language of action, rectified as above by the care of the teacher, will be useful to a certain extent, as affording the means of instruction by translation. But, by the freedom of communication which it establishes, it will also render the pupil, in a measure, the architect of his own intellectual edifice; for it will enable him to profit by his own independent reflection. He possesses the means of interrogating his master,—a means which he will not fail to employ.

Still this language has its disadvantages, which, so long as it aspires to the character of a self-interpreting instrument of thought, are inseparable from the nature of its elements. These elements are threefold; consisting, first, in the copies of those spontaneous expressions, by which the emotions of the soul manifest themselves to sight; secondly, in imitations of external nature, whether of objects or of actions; and, thirdly, in that species of figurative descriptions, by which, alone, that which is ideal can be made to assume a material form. These will evidently be intelligible, in the order in which they are here arranged. With regard to the first, there can be no mistake. The second, less self-explanatory, may still be rendered sufficiently complete to be comprehended. The third, however, are liable to greater uncertainty; and, in more cases than one, when in practice they introduce no obscurity, may be presumed to borrow something of their significancy from tacit convention.

It is in conformity with our first fundamental principle, to employ, for purposes of instruction, the entire language of the deaf and dumb; embracing all signs whatever, which have a meaning for him, and which, whether natural or not, may be denominated colloquial. Still it is the suggestion of reason, that, when these have fulfilled their purpose, and have found, by translation, their equivalents in spoken language, they should thenceforth yield their places to words. To continue their use is practically to deny another of our fundamental principles, and one of the highest importance, viz. that language should be made to the deaf and dumb what it is to other men, —the instrument of thought; for it is to render language sub-

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ordinate to pantomime, to make it the representative of a representative, and cause it to remain for the dumb what the learned languages are to us. In that case he will continue, perhaps for life, to be a mere translator, whether in conversation he occupy the place of the speaker, or of the person addressed. If we would, in any case, admit a departure from the strictness of the rule here laid down, it should be only in the application of signs to the exercises of religious worship; which, in a large institution, cannot otherwise be rendered universally intelligible.

Of the class of instruments, the office of which is merely to exhibit *words* under a material form, writing first demands consideration; since this is indispensable, and this, alone, is sufficient to fulfil all the purposes for which such an instrument is desired. From the latter part of the proposition here laid down, however, many respectable instructers have withheld their assent. Written language, in their estimation, must always occupy a secondary rank. It must constitute the representative of some more privileged instrument, standing between it and the ideas, with which it is presumed unsuited to be directly associated. This instrument is found in methodical signs, or artificial pronunciation and the labial alphabet, according to the peculiar notions of the instructer.

The reasoning intended to depreciate writing as an instrument of thought, seems hardly to afford anything sufficiently tangible to merit a very labored reply. It is nothing to say, that we ourselves are unaccustomed to employ the images of written signs, in conducting mental operations. We employ such signs as habit has rendered familiar; but they are signs, of which the deaf and dumb can never avail themselves. For we must remember, that, with whatever labor and success we may bring the deaf and dumb to imitate sounds, and read the fleeting characters which appear in succession upon the lips of a speaker, speech, to them, can never be what speech is to us. Hearing is not restored with articulation, or with the power of reading on the lips. The deaf and dumb, then, can never possess that species of signs, intermediate between ideas and written words, with which our ideas are associated. The movements of the lips are to them visible, not audible signs; and written words are nothing more. But argument is unnecessary, where the evidence of facts is at hand.

The ideographic portion of the Chinese writing is a case in point. And it is matter of daily observation, that deaf and

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dumb persons associate ideas with words for which they have no determinate sign. For them writing is truly ideographic.

Alphabetic writing is, indeed, sufficiently ill adapted to the wants of the unfortunate deaf and dumb. Constructed originally for a purpose altogether aside from their instruction, and without regard to their convenience,—founded on no analogy, which they can comprehend,—it imposes a severe burthen upon their memory. Still it is the sole instrument, common to them with other men, which presents itself to both parties, under the same aspect.

It has the advantage over articulation, of requiring little effort for its acquisition, and of being immediately available in the earliest stages of instruction. The language of the visible alphabet is also the language of study. It is the store-house of all human knowledge. It may be perused, and it may be composed with deliberation. It affords room for the mind to rest, to resume its train of thought, to modify, to correct and to improve. If it interpose inconvenience in the way of familiar conversation, it will, for the same reason, retrench superfluities, compel conciseness and precision of expression, and force the dumb to think with greater clearness, that they may express themselves with greater accuracy.

From the importance of writing in this art, has resulted a wish, almost, if not entirely, universal, that some means might be devised to diminish the labor, which its employment exacts; and to render it a more rapid instrument of communication. He who shall devise a system of stenography, applicable to the circumstances of the deaf and dumb, will confer upon them an inappreciable benefit. Space will not permit us, here, to point out at length the principles, which might serve as guides in the construction of such a system. It is, nevertheless, sufficiently evident, that the stenography of reporters, in our courts and public assemblies, will not answer the purpose. To the deaf and dumb, there are neither vowels, consonants, nor silent letters. If articulation be taught, the principles of syllabification may profitably receive attention; but if otherwise, these may be neglected. We are aware but of a single attempt to adapt a system especially to the use of deaf and dumb persons, that of M. Recoing, author of "*Le sourd-muet entendant par les yeux.*"* We are not aware that

* Le sourd-muet entendant par les yeux, ou triple moyen de com-

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this system, which is intended to accompany articulation and syllabic dactylology, has ever been tested in practice. The stenography of M. Recoing, being adapted to the French language, could not, of course, be transplanted into ours. It remains for the ingenuity of instructers in our own country, to devise a plan fitted to our circumstances; and we cannot but hope that this ingenuity will be called into speedy and successful exercise.

Dactylology, or the manual alphabet, has, with hardly an exception, been admitted as an auxiliary in the instruction of the deaf and dumb. It consists in a set of signs, formed by the fingers, in partial imitation of alphabetic characters; and it is employed simply as a means of spelling words. As an instrument of instruction, common consent has assigned it a subordinate rank; but as a means of communication with society, or at least with those persons who will devote half an hour to its acquisition, it is very useful. The rapidity with which deaf and dumb persons employ it in their mutual conversations, and the readiness with which they will often seize a word, even from its initial letter, are astonishing.

Under the head of dactylology may be classed alphabetic signs, executed with one or with two hands, syllabic signs, and writing in the air. The two-handed alphabet is peculiar to England. Syllabic signs have been employed only by particular instructers. It is here that there remains a chasm, yet to be supplied. M. Recoing, by means of a system of his own invention, was able to interpret to his son a continued discourse, as a sermon or an oration, as rapidly as it was pronounced. Much of the success of the celebrated Pereiré, is supposed to have been due to a system of syllabic dactylology which he refused to divulge, and which perished with him. In proportion as the manual alphabet is made to represent syllables, the number of its signs is, of necessity, multiplied. The advantage, therefore, which it thus gains, is accompanied by an inconvenience;—an inconvenience, however, not serious, if the abbreviation be not extended too far. Stenography and syllabic dactylology seem naturally to associate themselves together. He who shall devote his attention to the one, may

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munication avec ces infortunés, par des procédés abreviatifs de l'écriture; suivi d'un projet d'imprimerie syllabique; par le père d'un sourd-muet.—Paris, 1829.

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with propriety make both the subject of his labors. Should the pupil, however, acquire a facility of articulation and reading on the lips, he may dispense with dactylology altogether.

A question now presents itself, of the highest moment in the practice of this art; and one on which the opinions of instructers have been most widely at variance. This question relates to the expediency of making the oral and labial alphabets a prominent part of the instruction of deaf and dumb persons. Entire systems derive their character from the view which is taken of this subject in detail.

Before entering upon the discussion of the question, two propositions may be laid down, with regard to which there can be no possibility of dispute. It is evident from what has already been said, that the instrument we are now considering is not essential in the instruction of the deaf and dumb. Articulation is not necessary to the operations of the intellect, nor to the purposes of communication with society. On the other hand, it affords facilities, in the latter respect, too important to be disregarded. Hence results the second principle, that, if its acquisition be *really practicable*, no consideration should induce us to neglect it.

We must be careful to remark, nevertheless, an important distinction among deaf and dumb persons, which renders the instrument we are considering, much more easy of acquisition to one class than to another. With those, who in early age have been possessed of hearing, who have become dumb after possessing the faculty of speech, this faculty may be revived, more easily than it can be created in others. Certain reminiscences of articulate sounds will remain, long after their use has been discontinued. The power will not always be wholly lost, of supplying in the sentence, as pronounced, those subordinate parts which may not be distinctly observed. This is not, however, to deny to the deaf and dumb from birth, the power of acquiring the oral and labial alphabets. Experience has demonstrated the practicability of such an acquisition, in a multitude of instances. A person who is deaf and dumb from birth is dumb only because he is deaf. For him, indeed, the oral alphabet has no basis, either in the perception, or the recollection of sounds. Its foundation, its material, is in the sense of touch alone. His sole dependence is upon a circumstance, so entirely accidental to speech, that we ourselves only perceive

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its existence, by a special effort of attention. Heinicke, it is true, pretended to have discovered an auxiliary in the sense of taste. But between this sense and articulation, no connexion exists in nature; nor can we perceive how it can be created by art. Yet, under all these disadvantages, articulation is certainly available to the deaf and dumb.

Another circumstance here demands attention. To us, the language of utterance and that of hearing are identical. They are the language of sound. We give no attention to the play of our vocal organs, nor to the movements which accompany articulation in others. Whether we speak, or whether we listen, we recognise but a single instrument of communication. It is otherwise with the deaf and dumb. To them the labial alphabet presents a system of signs, addressing itself to sight; a system having its parallel in dactylology or in writing. Articulation, or the guttural alphabet, as it is denominated by Degerando, on the other hand, employs a different sense. Its elements are sensations of contact, resembling, remotely, those which the blind experience when they pass their fingers over the raised letters, which afford them the means of reading. There consequently exists for the deaf and dumb in conversation, the necessity of making an abrupt transition from one instrument to another; a necessity, which renders, for them, the employment of the oral and labial alphabets less simple than speech is to us.

To the disadvantages already enumerated, others still remain to be added. The labial alphabet exacts proximity, and usually a direct view of the countenance. In darkness its use is entirely lost. It distracts the attention of the observer from his employment. One or other of these evils, however, is common to it with writing, with dactylology, or with the language of action. To say that they exist, therefore, is only to say, that they must exist for the deaf and dumb, under all circumstances.

But further, both the oral and labial alphabets require time and labor for their acquisition. They exhaust a vast portion of the space allotted to instruction; and take the place of those exercises, which have for their object the cultivation of the intellectual powers, and the enlargement of the sphere of knowledge. Worse than all, they exact individual lessons, and thus compel the instructer of a class to neglect the many while he occupies himself with a few. It must finally be said, that there are those, who, by reason of early neglect, or the

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late period at which their education commences, do not possess the docility or flexibility of muscle, requisite for the attainment of artificial speech.

Under all these disadvantages, is it desirable, that the deaf and dumb pupil should be taught to speak, and to read upon the lips? Most unquestionably it is. What labor, what study, what patient and unremitted exercise of the attention, can be weighed in the balance with the immense benefit which these instruments afford, in restoring him, absolutely and really, to the ordinary intercourse of society! How broad a channel do they lay open, for the expansion of his views, the development of his intellect, the increase of his actual knowledge! What an amount of information purely traditional, information in possession of all who hear, but nowhere to be found in books, will thus be placed within his reach! How will his moral perceptions be refined, his affections purified, his character, as a whole, exalted! How will his acquaintance with language be extended! What a variety of phrases, idioms, proverbial and colloquial expressions, will be added to the treasury of his knowledge! With how much greater certainty will that important end of his education be answered, which requires that he shall be weaned from his favorite language of pantomime, and induced to adopt words as the instruments of his intellectual operations!

Articulation is an instrument available under all circumstances, and with all classes of persons. It exacts not even an acquaintance with writing in those with whom the deaf and dumb may be associated. It will serve the purposes of communication, on one part, at least, in darkness. This instrument has received the united suffrage of the great body of teachers, in all countries. Even De l'Epée and Sicard, the very authors of that system, which has led, in many instances, to the exclusion of the oral and labial alphabets, have testified in favor of their use, both in precept and practice. The former has given to the world, as a part of his work entitled '*La véritable manière d'instruire les sourds-muets*,' a treatise on the means of restoring articulation to deaf and dumb persons, which, so late as the year 1819, was republished at Paris, with a preface by the latter. In the course of this preface, the Abbé Sicard thus expresses himself. 'The deaf and dumb man is not completely restored to society, until he has been taught to express himself *vivâ voce*, and to read speech in the

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movement of the lips. It is only then that we can say that his education is entirely finished!'

We are now in a situation to consider the distinctive characteristics of different systems, and to determine, if we please, that which appears, to the eye of reason, the most judicious. One essential difference we have already remarked, viz. that which exists between the instructers, who have chosen to separate practical and methodical, or, to use the words of Degerando, ordinary and classical instruction, and those, who prefer to unite these two branches into one. This principle of distinction by no means interferes with another, which we are about to lay down.

We have noticed a classification of the instruments, employed to replace speech. We have seen that it is the province of one of these classes, more directly to represent ideas; of the other, words. The superior prominence which different systems assign, in practice, to one or the other of these classes, constitutes the basis of their widest differences. On the one side, therefore, stand the advocates of methodical signs; on the other, those of articulation.

Two other species of systems remain, of which the one rejects both the above instruments, and presents, in the use of writing alone, the simplest form of the art; the other, adopting both, the most complex.

After what we have said, it is hardly necessary to declare our preference. In adopting the views of those who are in favor of articulation, however, we are admonished, by the extent to which our remarks have been protracted, that it is impossible in this place to discuss the merits, or even unfold all the peculiarities of the different systems. A brief recapitulation will nevertheless show, that the difference of opinion, presumed to exist among instructers, is vastly wider in imagination than in reality. The controversies, in which De l'Epée was engaged, have had their effect in magnifying the distinctions, which really exist. They have created parties among men who should have been united in the inquiry after truth. Had our notions of the art been derived from the writings and the experiments of those who preceded that distinguished philanthropist in the same field, we should have avoided those prejudices, under the influence of which we have acquired the information we possess; and we should have learned to regard all instructers of the deaf and dumb, rather as our coadjutors,

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than our opponents. In what respect are the opinions of different masters really at variance? In questions merely of secondary importance. Perfect unanimity prevails in the employment of writing. No individual is so absurd as to reject the language of action. No one will deny the utility of design. Hardly a school rejects the manual alphabet. None question the expediency of employing the oral and labial alphabets, if it be practicable; and few deny its practicability, at least in many cases, where deafness is not profound. Methodical signs are continually losing ground. Minor differences of opinion are continually vanishing, before the light of knowledge. Systems are amalgamating; and the time may be anticipated, as not far distant, when this art shall, like other arts, upon which the light of reason has been permitted freely to play, possess the character of unity which belongs to them. Why should the views of instructers differ? Truth is every where the same. Experience is every where multiplying its results. Whether we live to witness the happy consummation, or whether it shall be reserved for another generation, perfect unanimity will, nay, must ultimately prevail.

To this result, the plan of correspondence, established a few years since by the Institution at Paris, will materially contribute. The object of this correspondence is to bring about an interchange of views among instructers, by the publication of their letters, either in full or in substance, in a biennial circular. But three publications of this nature have yet appeared, of which we have affixed the title of the third to this article. It is drawn up, we understand, as was also the second, by the able Professor Morel, and embraces memoirs from various instructers, among which we look in vain for any from an American hand. In a country, which embraces within its limits at least three institutions, in numbers surpassing any three in any other, we cannot view this circumstance without mortification. It would seem that a moral obligation should be felt among all those, who have devoted themselves to this enterprise, to contribute, if it be but their mite, to the common stock of improvement.

Cursory as is the view which we have taken of our subject, it is exceedingly incomplete. To those, who would pursue inquiries respecting it with greater minuteness, we recommend a careful perusal of the work of Degerando; a work, of which we do not pretend, here, to have offered even an imperfect

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analysis. What we have further to say, relates to the history of the art.

This history, for the sake of convenience, is divided by Degerando into two distinct periods; of which the first extends from the earliest essays attempted in the instruction of the deaf and dumb, to the time of De l'Epée; the second, commencing from that era, reaches our own time. The first period comprehends a space of nearly two centuries,—the second, little more than sixty years. During the first, instructers were few and scattered; in the second, comparatively numerous, contemporaneous, and frequently uniting their efforts in the same field of labor. The first is the period of invention; the second of improvement. The instructers of the first period were occupied, chiefly, upon the mechanical means of replacing speech; those of the second, upon the logical teaching of language, and the cultivation of the intellect. During the first, the oral and labial alphabets were the instruments most generally employed; with the second, methodical signs make their appearance, to the exclusion, in some instances, of articulation. The first period is that, in which instruction is principally individual; the second is the period of institutions. During the first, the art seems to have constituted a species of masonry; its processes were a mystery, and each instructer seems to have guarded his secret knowledge with peculiar jealousy. Since the commencement of the second, the veil has been torn away, systems have been opened to the light, and the discussion of their merits invited. The early instructers generally followed their art as an instrument of gain. The later, have, in many instances, pursued it at great personal sacrifice. They have regarded the education of the deaf and dumb as a part of the great cause of humanity; and have been stimulated to put forth exertion, by a sense of duty. The former seem, in most instances, to have been ignorant that others were, or had been, laboring in the same field; they have known little or nothing of their predecessors or contemporaries. The same processes have, therefore, been a first and a second time invented; and the art has, consequently, for years, made little progress. It is the endeavor of modern times to promote improvement by a union of effort, and, for this purpose, to render the intercourse of instructers as frequent and as familiar as possible. The first period may, consequently, afford more interest to the curious inquirer; the second to the professor, who is eager for practical information.

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Spain may be called the cradle of this art. The first instructer, of whom we have any authentic account, is Peter Ponce, a monk of the order of St. Benedict at Oña. He published no account of his methods, and left behind him no manuscript. Our knowledge of him is principally derived from the brief notices of Francis Vallés, and Ambrose Morales, two of his contemporaries. From these, we learn that he taught his pupils to speak; and it is added by the former (what is very improbable) that, for this purpose, he employed only indicative signs. Another writer tells us that, in the archives of the convent at Oña, is found a paper which attests, that the pupils of Ponce 'spoke, wrote, prayed aloud, attended mass, confessed, spoke Greek, Latin, Italian, (as well as Spanish) and reasoned remarkably well upon physics and astronomy.' 'They were,' said Ponce himself, 'so distinguished in the sciences, that they would have passed for men of talent, in the eyes of Aristotle.' If this extravagant use of the hyperbole excite a smile, it still affords evidence that Ponce was decidedly successful.

Second in point of time, and the earliest author of a practical treatise on the art, was a countryman of the last, John Paul Bonet. Urged, as he says, by sentiments of personal affection, he undertook to instruct the brother of an officer of state, to whom he was secretary. He seems to have been ignorant of what his predecessor had accomplished; though, with little reason, he has been accused of borrowing his processes and exhibiting them as his own. Bonet employed the language of action, writing, dactylology and the oral alphabet. His work presents the hasty outlines of a philosophic system. The labial alphabet appeared to him an unavailable instrument; one, at least, which could not be taught according to any fixed method.

We are told of another Spaniard, deaf and dumb himself from birth, but how instructed we know not, by name Ramirez de Carion, who taught one of his pupils, a person of rank, to speak and write four languages.

Beside Jerome Cardan, other writers of Italy early found their attention arrested by the art, which at present occupies us. Among these, we find the names of Affinaté, the author of a treatise not remarkable for its merit, of Fabrizio d'Aquapendente, and of the father Lana-Terzi, a jesuit of Brescia. The latter, being occupied with a variety of curious questions, such as the art of flying, the quadrature of the circle, and the

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philosopher's stone; of writing in cypher, of the means of teaching the blind to read and write, and of telegraphic communication, fell naturally upon the inquiry which forms the subject of this article. He examined the mechanism of speech, and the art of instructing the deaf in the knowledge of language.

England, in the seventeenth century, presents us with the names of Bulwer, Wallis, Holder, Dalgarno and Sibscota, all of whom directed their attention either to the theory or the practice of this art.

Wallis, by common consent, seems to occupy the first rank among the early English instructers. He was the author of a treatise on speech, and of other occasional papers, relating to our present subject. In a few instances he took the trouble to teach articulation; but this instrument he afterwards abandoned; not, however, because his views of its utility were altered. He avowed himself to be, as he believed, the original inventor of the art; a claim which was disputed by William Holder of Blechington. Holder had, in fact, taught articulation to a single deaf and dumb person, who, having afterwards lost the faculty, attained it a second time under Wallis. But of him little is known, except that his views were rather superficial than otherwise.

In passing to Holland, we meet with the name of Peter Montans, who is said to have offered some remarks upon the subject of teaching the deaf and dumb. Those, however, whose opinions are best known, and most remarkable, are Mercuré Van Helmont and John Conrad Amman. These men, both distinguished for the singularity of their views, appear, notwithstanding the wildness of their notions, to have been moved by a spirit of philanthropy. They agree in attributing to language a divine origin; in supposing the original language of man to have possessed properties, for which we search in vain in the degenerate dialects of modern days. They beheld in speech, not merely a conventional instrument of thought, but one possessing privileges, high, mysterious, inexplicable. Van Helmont held the opinion, that there exists a language natural to man;—a language more simple in its construction and in its pronunciation, than any now in use; that this language is the Hebrew, in the characters of which he seems to discover a resemblance to the positions of the vocal organs, requisite to give them utterance. The boldness of

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these assumptions is a little remarkable, when we recollect that the pronunciation of Hebrew is forever lost. 'Van Helmont,' says Degerando, 'pretended, in three weeks, to have put a deaf and dumb person in a condition to answer, (by articulation) questions addressed to him.' This person, if we believe Van Helmont, learned afterwards, in very brief space, the Hebrew language, by his unaided efforts, in comparing the Hebrew text with a German translation of the Bible. Of the probability of this statement we leave teachers to judge.

Conrad Amman undertook the education of the deaf and dumb, without being aware that others had preceded him. He became afterwards acquainted with their works, and engaged in a correspondence with Wallis. We cannot better convey an idea of his peculiar notions respecting the human voice, than by quoting his own words. 'There is in us,' he says, 'no faculty, which more strikingly bears the character of life, than speech. I repeat it, the voice is a living emanation of that immortal spirit, which God breathes into the body of man at his creation. Among the immense number of gifts from God to man, it is speech, in which eminently shines the imprint of Divinity. In like manner as the Almighty created all things by his word, so he gave to man, not only, in an appropriate language, to celebrate worthily his Author; but, farther, to produce by speech whatever he desires, in conformity with the laws of his existence. This divine mode of speaking almost disappeared from the earth, along with so many other perfections, at that unhappy epoch, the fall. Hardly, in the long course of ages since elapsed, has the precious prerogative been accorded to a few privileged individuals. These were no other than souls, sanctified and united to God by fervent and continual prayer; who, interrogating the very essences of things, have been endowed with the gift of miracles. These holy personages have exhibited to the view of other men traces of an empire, once common to all, but which most have suffered to escape.' *

If such notions excite surprise, we cannot but smile, when we find the same writer gravely questioning, whether the apostles, on the day of Pentecost, really spoke in different tongues; or attained by immediate inspiration that efficacious speech,

* *Dissertation sur la Parole*, &c. a translation, printed at the close of the volume of Deschamps. Paris, 1779.

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by means of which the well disposed of every kindred and people and tongue and nation, simultaneously comprehended their thoughts.

In Holland, as in Spain and England, the art fell during a long period into total disuse, after the time of its first inventors. Our attention is next attracted to Germany. Names here begin to multiply. We are presented with those of Kenger, Ettmuller, Wild, Niederoff, Raphel, Pascha, Pasch, Schulze, Conradi, Solrig, Lasius, Arnoldi, and Heinicke. Among such a multitude we can notice only individuals.

Kerger, assisted by his sister, undertook the task of instruction at Liegnitz in Silesia, early in the eighteenth century. He availed himself at once of design, of pantomime, of the oral and labial alphabets, and of writing. Of dactylology he makes no mention; but of the utility of the language of action, he expresses himself in the highest terms; entertaining, in this respect, views materially resembling those of De l'Epée at a later period.

Contemporary with Kerger, was George Raphel, the father of three deaf and dumb children. Led first by parental affection to become an instructer, and having subsequently succeeded even beyond his hopes, he committed to paper an account of his method, for the information of others. This work was first published at Lunenburg, in the year 1718.

Lasius confined himself to the teaching of language under a visible form. He made use neither of the manual alphabet nor of design. Arnoldi, on the other hand, gave to this latter instrument considerable expansion, and taught the use of the oral and labial alphabets. He employed also pantomime, but only so far as it is the work of the deaf and dumb themselves.

Samuel Heinicke was the director of the first institution for the deaf and dumb, established under the patronage of a government. This institution was founded at Leipzig in 1778. Heinicke had, before this time, announced in the public papers, that, in the course of six weeks, he had taught a deaf and dumb person to answer, by writing, whatever questions were proposed to him. Arnoldi, says Degerando, could not but declare, that such a result seemed to him incomprehensible. Still, Heinicke was a man of no common ability; and his success is attested by the reputation, which obtained for him the direction of a public institution. But he was, at the same time, a man of immeasurable self-conceit, irritable in

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his temper, rude, coarse and overbearing in his manners. In consequence of the existence of such traits in his character, though his pupils were the principal sufferers, all who had to do with him were subject to more or less annoyance. He attributed to himself the honor of invention, but so far as his processes have come to the light, they afford no justification of his claim. In some trifling particulars, his methods were indeed peculiar. He placed instruments in the mouths of his pupils, to regulate the positions of the vocal organs in emitting sounds. And he asserted (what is very improbable,) that he had made particular sensations of taste to correspond to particular articulations. Heinicke was a believer in the exclusive prerogative of the voice to serve as an instrument of thought. Otherwise, his views were eminently in accordance with sound philosophy.

France seems not only to have been behind other European nations in her efforts for the education of the deaf and dumb, but even in the knowledge of what had been accomplished abroad. Hence, when at length she saw the advocates of this unfortunate class spring up within her limits, she opposed to them all those prejudices, which had elsewhere found their refutation in actual experiment. Still there exists testimony, that the practice of the art had not been wholly unknown, even in France, before the time of Pereiré and Ernaud. In 1769, a man deaf and dumb from birth, named Guibal, is recorded to have made his will in writing; and from the evidence of his knowledge produced in court, the will was confirmed. We have also some further evidence that the deaf and dumb were instructed; but nothing satisfactory until the time of Father Vanin, who rested instruction, as we have seen, principally upon the use of design.

After him sprung up Pereiré, a Portuguese. Two of his pupils, whom he exhibited, at different times, before the Academy of Sciences, were remarkable for their attainments. These were Saboureux de Fontenay, and D'Azy d'Etavigny. Pereiré made a secret of his processes. He offered to disclose them for a suitable consideration; but this consideration being withheld, they perished with him. It is even said that he bound his pupils by an oath, not to discover his modes of instruction; and made them a secret even to his family. We know, nevertheless, that the grand instrument of his system was a method of syllabic dactylology; which, by its rapidity in

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exhibiting words, enabled him, to a great extent, to rely on usage to explain their meaning. He was, nevertheless, apprised of the advantage of a logical method, in the teaching of languages. Few, if any, have been more successful than Pereiré. Of his pupil Fontenay, De l'Epée records, that he translated foreign works, and himself composed a number of productions designed for the press.

Ernaud, as well as Pereiré, obtained the approbation of the Academy of Sciences. He employed himself very much in reviving the sense of hearing, where it was partially lost. He asserts, indeed, that he had met with no instance of entire deafness. Articulation was, of course, his principal instrument.

The Abbé Deschamps published, in 1779, a work on the instruction of the deaf and dumb. To this branch of education, he devoted, in practice, his fortune and his life. Acknowledging the practicability of instructing by means of signs, he still accorded the preference to articulation and the labial alphabet. He refused, therefore, though solicited, to unite himself with the Abbé de l'Epée. Shortly after the publication of his work, he was assailed by the deaf and dumb Desloges, who very earnestly vindicated the methods of De l'Epée, and spoke, in the most enthusiastic terms, of the language of action.

In glancing at the second period of this history, we have to regret that our notice of it must be but a glance. The Abbé de l'Epée commenced the labor, to which his entire life, and the whole of his pecuniary means were afterwards consecrated, with completing the education of two twin sisters, who had been pupils of Father Vanin. The grand feature of his system we have already noticed. It consisted in giving to the language of action the highest degree of expansion, and rendering it, by means of methodical signs, parallel to that of speech. He attempted also the task of teaching articulation; and, as we have seen, was the author of a treatise on this branch of the art. The actual success of the Abbé de l'Epée was far from being equal to that of his successors, or even his contemporaries. In a letter to Sicard, written in 1783, he says, 'Do not hope that your pupils can ever express their ideas by writing. Let it suffice that they translate our language into theirs, as we ourselves translate foreign languages, without being able to think or to express ourselves in those lan-

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guages.' He has more to the same purpose. With the evidence of Pereiré's success, in the case of Fontenay, under his eyes, these views are certainly remarkable. De l'Epée commenced the preparation of a dictionary of signs, which was never published. He felt himself, from time to time, called upon to defend his views. He seems, voluntarily, to have thrown down the gauntlet to Pereiré. With Heinicke he held a controversial correspondence of some length, in which that instructer seems to have exhibited very little courtesy. A third time he came into collision with Nicolaï, an academician of Berlin. The Abbé Storck, a disciple of De l'Epée, had established a school in the latter city; and it was from the exercises of a public exhibition, held by the former, that Nicolaï took occasion to attack the system of instruction. The details of these controversies, though interesting, are too extensive to be exhibited here.

A few years after the death of De l'Epée, was established the Royal Institution of Paris, to the direction of which Sicard was summoned. It was the endeavor of this instructer, whose title to our veneration is beyond dispute, to perfect the views of his immediate predecessor and master; and to carry out fully in practice the theory, which makes the instruction of the deaf and dumb a process of translation. Of Sicard's success, we have living evidence in our own country, in the case of M. Clerc at Hartford; whose acquaintance at once with the French and the English languages leaves nothing to be desired. Massieu, also, whose education forms the subject of an entire work from the pen of his master, is an astonishing instance of the extent to which the intellectual faculties of deaf and dumb persons may be cultivated. We cannot refrain, in this place, from noticing a few of the answers of these pupils to questions, of the nature of which they could have had no previous intimation.

When Clerc was asked if he loved the Abbé Sicard, he replied in the following words. 'Deprived at birth of the sense of hearing, and, by a necessary consequence, of speech, the deaf and dumb were condemned to a most melancholy vegetation; the Abbé de l'Epée and the Abbé Sicard were born, and these unfortunate persons, confided to their regenerating care, passed from the class of brutes to that of men: whence you may judge how much I must love the Abbé Sicard.'

Massieu, being once asked the difference between God and

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nature, replied, 'God is the first Framer, the Creator of all things. The first beings all sprang from his divine bosom. He said to the first, '*you shall produce the second*;' his wishes are laws,—these laws are nature.'

'Eternity,' he said, 'is a day without yesterday or to-morrow.'

'Hope is the flower of happiness.'

'Gratitude is the memory of the heart.'

In this second period of the history, it is impossible that we should proceed further, with any thing like particularity. Germany affords us the names of Neumann, Eschke, Cæsar, Petschke, Venus, Wolke, Daniel, Stephani, Ernsdorffer, Scherr, Neumaier, Gæger, Siemon, Grasshoff, and a multitude of others; Switzerland those of Ulrich and Naëf; Holland of Peerlkamp and the Messrs. Guyot; England of Watson, Arrowsmith, and Roget; Scotland of Braidwood and Kinniburgh; Spain of D'Alea and Hernandez, and Italy of Scagliotti. France also presents us with many names, among which we notice those of Bébian, Piroux, Périer Jamet, Dudésert, Gondelin, Ordinaire, Valade, and Morel; to the last, we understand, was intrusted, at the Royal Institution, the preparation of the second and third circulars. It would afford us pleasure, here, to examine, specifically, such of the productions of these individuals as have reached us; but our own country exacts of us the space which yet remains.

In April 1815, were taken the first steps toward the erection of an institution for the deaf and dumb in America. A feeble beginning, in the establishment of a small private school, had been previously made in Virginia. But of this nothing was known, at least no account was taken in Hartford. An interesting girl, the daughter of a highly-respected physician in that city, had lost her hearing at the age of two years. The Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, having become interested in her case, visited Paris, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the system, employed in the Royal Institution. Returning, he brought with him M. Laurent Clerc, whose name has been already mentioned, and with whose assistance he laid the foundation of the Connecticut Asylum. This institution, which, having since experienced the fostering care of the Federal Government, has assumed the more exclusive epithet American, has always maintained a very high reputation. It has produced, at least while under the direction of Mr. Gal-

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laudet, pupils remarkably distinguished for their attainments. Of these, George H. Loring of Boston, who was retained for some years as an assistant instructer, after the completion of his education, acquired so great a facility in the use of the French language, as to astonish native Frenchmen with whom he conversed. Articulation never formed a part of Mr. Gallaudet's system. He employed methodical signs, to a great extent, in his practice, but not without a careful previous determination of their corresponding ideas. He made it an important part of his plan, to lead his pupils to the formation of habits of reflection upon the operations of their own minds; believing, very justly, that intellectual expansion will be more rapid, as the power of discrimination, between ideas having no palpable representatives, is increased. Mr. W. C. Woodbridge, editor of the American Annals of Education, was an early associate of Mr. Gallaudet. From this school, also, proceeded Mr. Peet, principal of the institution in the city of New York.

The American Asylum likewise lent its aid to the establishment of the Pennsylvania Institution upon a secure basis. This school, first a private seminary commenced by David G. Seixas, was erected into a public institution, by an act of the State Legislature, passed in February, 1821. Soon after, Mr. Seixas having been removed, Mr. Clerc spent some time at Philadelphia, and was succeeded, on his return to Hartford, by Mr. Lewis Weld, an instructer of the same school. Mr. Weld was, in 1830, recalled to Hartford, to supply the place of Mr. Gallaudet; who, to the deep regret of every friend to the deaf and dumb, ceased, in the autumn of that year, to direct the American Asylum, and retired from the employment. The Pennsylvania Institution, under the direction of Mr. Abraham B. Hutton, has from that time continued to proceed with distinguished success.

The first movements made toward the establishment of an institution in the city of New York, originated in 1816, 'in consequence,' as we are informed by Dr. Akerly, its first director, 'of a letter written by a dumb person in Bordeaux, offering to come to this country to establish a school.' In the beginning of 1817, a public meeting was held on the subject, at which many gentlemen, believing that two institutions were unnecessary, and could not be sustained, opposed the project. A better acquaintance with the statistics of our population soon

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rendered the necessity of another establishment self-evident. More than sixty deaf and dumb persons were ascertained to exist in the city of New York alone, and the returns were still incomplete. An act of incorporation was obtained in April 1817. Under this act, a school was opened in the spring of 1818, which, struggling against many difficulties, principally self-created, it is true, continued for years to languish on, but seemed to hold its existence by a very uncertain tenure. It was the early error of this institution, to employ men entirely inadequate to the task they had undertaken. Its results were consequently so unsatisfactory as to shake the confidence of its friends, and ultimately even of the Legislature, on which it was dependent, in the capacity of its conductors. They afforded also ample ground for the strictures which occasionally appeared, aimed directly or indirectly at the institution, and which were believed at New York to originate in a spirit of hostility to its interests. It was further believed, upon no reasonable ground whatever, that this spirit was cherished in the American Asylum and industriously propagated by its friends. The utmost forbearance was certainly exhibited by that institution, under imputations the most uncharitable, and most directly suited to excite indignant feeling; and any one who knows Mr. Gallaudet, knows also that he is incapable of being influenced, even for a moment, by any unworthy motive. Something like a controversy seemed, notwithstanding, to spring up between the schools of New York and Hartford. We remark with some surprise, that this controversy embraces very little that is essential, in the art of instruction. It seems to relate entirely to the language of action; and not even here to involve the question commonly agitated on this topic, viz. how far this language should be employed in practice; but only to concern the visible form of the signs used in the two institutions.

It is asserted in the Encyclopædia Americana, that the New York Institution originated its own system of instruction. This statement, here first made in a standard work, is not indeed novel, neither is it true. The teachers at New York endeavored, to the best of their ability, to walk in the footsteps of Sicard. If, in the mere form of their signs of reduction, they differed from the school of Paris, nothing more was true of them, than is true of half the European institutions at the present day. Uniformity among many institutions, however desirable, is not essential within the walls of one.

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It has been asserted that signs do not admit of description, and that those employed by Sicard cannot be gathered from his works. His *Théorie des Signes*, it is true, is far from being a dictionary of such as deserve to be called methodical; or such as were used by him to abbreviate the indication of words in practice. But this reasoning, as applied to the New York Institution in its infancy, rests upon a false basis. The pupil is the book in which the teacher must read. He brings with him all the signs which are available to him, in the commencement of his education. The number of these may be increased as the circle of his ideas expands; but their particular form is far from being essential to the purposes which they are to fulfil. The Abbé Jamet, at Caen, has instituted his own system of methodical signs, rejecting those of Sicard. In like manner, the instructers at New York had theirs, many of which are still held in recollection among the pupils, and are still intelligible.

But the real evils under which the New York Institution labored, the real points of difference between it and the institution at Hartford, were the incompetency of its teachers, in the artificial nature of the instrument on which they chiefly relied, or their neglect to avail themselves of any thing like logical method in the teaching of language. They erred, in encumbering the memory of the pupil with isolated words, designated, each by its methodical sign, while the proper use of those words, in connected discourse, was yet but imperfectly understood. We have had visible evidence, in a multitude of instances, that their pupils were accustomed to regard written language, not as a *practical* instrument of communication, available under all circumstances, but as a *possible* means of exhibiting particular propositions.

We must admit, therefore, that the New York Institution did not early fulfil the purposes of its charitable founders. The year 1830 was, however, the era of a radical reformation. It was during this year that Mr. Vaysse, from the Institution of Paris, entered upon his duties at New York; and that Mr. Peet, the principal, previously for nine years an instructer in the American Asylum, concluded to accept the situation, which he has since continued to fill.

Mr. Vaysse and Mr. Peet brought with them the methods and the signs, in use at Paris and at Hartford. As a natural

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consequence, the institution at once assumed a character, which it had never before possessed; and which immediately won for it anew the confidence, which had before been partially withdrawn. Uniformity, too, in the sign language, if that be considered an advantage worth mentioning, was, by means of this revolution, rendered universal among American institutions. There now exists but a single sign dialect, in the schools for the deaf and dumb on this continent.

The system of methodical signs, early, as we have seen, in use at New York, was, after the arrival of Mr. Vaysse, gradually abandoned. The advantages, consequent upon thus shaking off the yoke of an artificial system, have been strikingly perceptible. Thus France, at whose hands our country first received the art, has furnished us with its most decided improvement here, in the correction of her own great original error.

The New York Institution, on its new basis, is now proceeding with remarkable success. In addition to the methods already employed, it is seriously considering the expediency of introducing articulation; the number of its pupils, capable of acquiring such a means of communication in some degree through the ear, being sufficient to warrant the attempt.

Beside the establishments already noticed as existing in America, there is a school for the deaf and dumb in Kentucky, another in Ohio, a third at Canajoharie, New York, and a fourth in Quebec. All these have derived their methods from the American Asylum. That at Canajoharie, having been established merely for temporary purposes, by the Legislature of the State of New York, will probably be discontinued in 1836.

In reviewing the labors of American teachers, we cannot but be surprised that so little has been done by them towards the preparation of books. It is an admitted fact, that the deaf and dumb need exercises, written expressly for their use. Yet, among us, nothing has been done, worthy of note. Seixas and Gallaudet published, indeed, some disjointed exercises, but upon these, we presume, they did not desire to stake their reputation. In the year 1821, there appeared, at New York, a course of lessons by Dr. Samuel Akerly, which from its extent might seem to challenge criticism. Had the doctor, in preparing his work, fully understood the nature of his undertaking, we should have been disposed to meet the challenge.

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To do so under existing circumstances, however, since his book has neither been found practically useful in the New York Institution, for which it was originally designed, nor any where else, would be a mere waste of words.

The want of printed lessons is the disadvantage under which, at present, American institutions chiefly labor. To remedy this deficiency, along with that of a systematic series of designs, is the point, toward which the labors of instructers should, for the time, be principally directed. Cannot a congress of teachers be established? Cannot an union of effort be attempted? Cannot a division of labor be determined, which shall cause its advantages to be felt by the deaf and dumb now existing? We have, hitherto, had too little concert. We have been employed rather in creating, than in perfecting institutions. We have been struggling, as we still are, against pecuniary embarrassments. We have been laboring that the patronage of the Federal Government, already extended to two seminaries, might foster also our undertakings. We have toiled, not so much for celebrity, as for existence. Confident in the belief, that the claims of the deaf and dumb would ultimately be acknowledged in their fullest extent, we have sought to establish points, around which the public charity might rally, and pour out, upon its objects, its blessings in their most efficacious form. For the Northern United States, these points are determined. For the Southern, they remain to be designated. Virginia owes it to her character, and to the numerous deaf and dumb persons within her limits, speedily to create one.* Another, or it may be two, will be requisite for the South-western states. Regarding the promptitude of our countrymen to meet the calls of justice or of charity, in whatever form presented, we cannot doubt that the wants of the deaf and dumb will soon be supplied; and that the public beneficence, already extended to a portion, will, before the lapse of many years, be accorded to the whole.

* By an act of the Legislature of Virginia, passed during the session of 1832–3, a charter was granted for an Institution to be situated at Staunton, a position nearly central in the State. This place was selected in compliance with the conditions of a very liberal donation, said to have been made by one of its inhabitants for the purposes contemplated by the law. It is not known that any measures have yet been taken to carry the provisions of the act into effect.

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ART. III.—*Early Literature of France.*

Cours de Littérature Française: par M. VILLEMAIN, *Membre de l'Académie Française, Professeur d'Eloquence à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris.* Paris. 1828.

THE Provençal school, to which we briefly adverted in a preceding article, may be viewed with propriety as the earliest development of French poetry, although the dialect of the Northern provinces had obtained a complete ascendency over that of the Southern before the period of good taste arrived. It is true, that while the Troubadours were flourishing at their best estate, there also existed in the North a race of bards and minstrels called *Trouvères*, who used the dialect of the Northern provinces, or the *Langue d'Oui*, and whose general style of poetry resembled precisely that of their brethren of the *gaie science*. They may, therefore, be considered as forming a branch of the same general school; but as they were less distinguished at the time than the Troubadours, it is of course the latter who must be regarded as at the head of it. Neither branch has left any works of real value except as antiquarian curiosities. Among those of the Northern poets or *Trouvères*, an allegorical poem, called the Romaunt of the Rose, and a collection of poetical tales under the title of *Fabliaux* are considered as the best. It does not come within the scope of the present article to examine in detail the merit of these productions. The language in which they are written is now obsolete, and they constitute no part of what is properly denominated French literature.

In passing from this antiquated form into its present one, the French language assumed and retained for a long time an intermediate shape, much more nearly resembling the latter than the former, but strongly marked with some peculiar characteristics, and possessing beauties which are now lost. It was also during the prevalence of this form that the first works of real merit made their appearance, and it is therefore on all accounts entitled to some degree of attention. It is exhibited in its rudest shape in the Chronicles of Froissart, the History of Philippe de Comines, and Rabelais. It is seen again in a somewhat purer taste in Montaigne's Essays. In Amyot

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and Brantôme it approaches still nearer to the modern style, but yet possesses a distinctly perceptible character. The works of Clement Marot, the best poet who preceded the era of good taste, are generally considered the most favorable specimens of this intermediate or transition dialect. It is sometimes called the *naif*, or simple style, but as this term indicates simplicity of thought and not of language, it seems to be in this instance improperly applied. Some of the principal writers who employ this peculiar dialect, as for instance Clement Marot and Montaigne, are remarkable for a frank and open expression of their personal feelings, and this intellectual quality of the writers may have connected itself in the imagination of the public with the form of the language in which they wrote. The principal peculiarities that distinguish this variety of the French from the modern form, are the occasional omission of the article before the noun, and of the personal pronoun before the verb; the more frequent use of inverted phrases, and the employment of a number of adjectives of diminution, and various other words that are now obsolete. None of these points appear to have any necessary connexion with the supposed moral expression of this dialect, but they all indicate a nearer approach to the Latin, and its immediate offspring the Spanish and Italian, than we see in the modern French. Hence it is natural to conclude, that of the two great ingredients which unite in the composition of the French, as of all the modern languages, the Teutonic was constantly gaining on the Latin until the form of the language was fixed. The difference between the French of Montaigne and Marot, and that of Pascal and Malherbe, the first classical writers in prose and verse, marks one stage in this progress, and has little or nothing to do with any supposed difference of moral expression. The *naiveté* of this style is therefore probably in a great measure an imaginary thing, but the association is now so completely established, that the employment of any of its peculiar forms, at the present day, immediately conveys to the mind of the reader the impressions that naturally correspond with this quality; and it is uniformly resorted to by modern writers for this purpose.

Clement Marot, the only good poet that appeared at this stage in the progress of the language, flourished at the Court of Francis I. and his successors, where he enjoyed a high degree of favor, solely on the recommendation of his literary tal-

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ent, and without any adventitious aid of birth, fortune, or political services. He associated on the most familiar terms with the famous Diane de Poitiers, and with Margaret of Valois, afterwards Queen of Navarre, herself one of the best writers of the day. Some of her verses, addressed to Marot, are still extant. The works of this poet consist entirely of short compositions on familiar and amatory subjects, generally written in a gay and easy style. There are some in a different manner, among which is a translation of the Psalms into verse, for the use of the French Protestants of the time; but the other mode was the one in which he excelled. He is commended by Boileau as an elegant writer, and was much studied and closely imitated by Lafontaine. He was also subsequently copied by J. B. Rousseau, but not with equal success. The example of this distinguished lyric poet, nevertheless, revived the public taste for his peculiar manner, which acquired at that time a temporary vogue, and received the name of *Marotisme*. The following pieces will at once give an idea of his merit as a writer, and of the form of the language at the time when he appeared. The first is a farewell address to his mistress, in a half-sentimental style.

Puisque de vous je n'ai d'autre visage,
Je m'en vais rendre hermite en un desert,
Pour prier Dieu, si un autre vous sert,
Qu' ainsi que moi en votre honneur soit sage.
Adieu amour, adieu gentil corsage,
Adieu ce teint, adieu ces friands yeux,
Je n'ai pas eu de vous grand avantage
Un moins amant aura peut-être mieux.

The following is a well known piece, called *Le Oui et le Nenni:* or Yes and No, and is written in a gayer mood.

Un doux *Nenni* avec un doux sourire
Est tant honnête! Il vous le faut apprendre.
Quand est d'*Oui* si veniez à le dire,
D'avoir trop dit je voudrois vous reprendre.
Non que je sois ennuyé d'entreprendre
D'avoir le fruit dont le desir me point,
Mais je voudrois qu'en me le laissant prendre
Vous me disiez, Non, vous ne l'aurez point.

Marot was the author of a great number of epigrams, of which the following, considered as a *bona fide impromptu,* is

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rather happy. Francis I., surrounded as usual by a number of his courtiers, was one day surveying a favorite horse, which he appears to have held in high estimation. Being himself an *amateur* in poetry, he produced on this occasion the two first lines of a *quatrain* in praise of the animal, and challenged the company to complete it. The King's verses were as follows:

Joli cheval! gentil cheval!
Bon à monter! bon à descendre!

Marot, who was present, immediately supplied the two following, which make up in loyalty for what they want in strict accuracy of rhyme.

Si tu n'es pas Bucéphale,
Tu portes mieux qu'Alexandre.

Whatever may be the merit of Clement Marot, which is certainly far from inconsiderable as respects the style of his poems, although they belong substantially to a secondary class, his general literary reputation is much inferior to that of some of the prose writers, who employed the intermediate form of the French language. Without dwelling particularly on the works of Froissart, Comines, and Brantôme, all of which are principally valuable for the historical information they afford, or on those of Amyot, which present, perhaps, the most beautiful specimen extant of the early French prose, but being wholly translations from the Greek, can hardly be considered as giving the author an independent literary character, this period offers the names of Rabelais and Montaigne, which are among the first in the literature of France, and indeed of Europe. They belong, in fact, to the latter rather than the former, as they both preceded the formation of the proper French school of learning, and possess few or none of its peculiar characteristics. They were both original and powerful thinkers, and the reputation of their works rests at present upon the substantial merit of the matter, more than upon the beauty of the form, which was doubtless however very highly valued in their day. Although a detailed examination of their writings does not properly belong to our immediate subject, it would be wrong to pass them over without a cursory notice.

Rabelais and Montaigne were both somewhat posterior to the flourishing period of Clement Marot, but their style has a much more antiquated air than his, and it is there-

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fore probable that they purposely affected to adhere to the old phraseology and forms of construction. This is more especially remarkable in Rabelais, whose writings, partly on account of this circumstance and partly from the peculiar character of their subjects, are now unintelligible without a commentary, and almost with one. It has been thought by some, that he made use of obsolete words and antique forms of expression in order to disguise his meaning and cover in some degree the obnoxious features of his matter, which were already pretty well concealed under a thick and almost impenetrable veil of allegory. His works are in substance a satire on the leading political personages of the day; and although the author enjoyed the protection of the court, it was necessary to proceed in the management of such a subject with a great degree of caution. Their satirical character was probably at that time, as it is now, lost upon the public. In this respect they resemble Gulliver's Travels, of which they doubtless furnished the leading hint. The intelligent reader perceives in each a fine satire of the principal follies and vices of the world, while the same narrative is devoured with an eager appetite by children and their nurses, as a tale of wonders. This merit belongs in a greater or less degree to all really valuable works of fiction, which must be supposed to carry some useful instruction in an indirect form: but there are few in which the apparent object varies so much from the real one as in the productions of Rabelais and Swift. The former present in their external aspect the adventures of certain grotesque and monstrous beings in human shape, designated by the names of Pantagruel, Garagantua, and others not less strange and barbarous. The prevailing tone is that of grave irony, and the wit and humor are throughout gross, to a much greater extent even than in Swift. The taste for this sort of gaiety, of which there are so many unpleasant traces in the works of the great English wits of the time of Queen Anne, must doubtless be referred to this source. They were all habitual readers of Rabelais, and valued him highly. Gulliver and Martinus Scriblerus are direct imitations of his manner, and Pope occasionally alludes to him in strong terms of approbation. But the stream of his peculiar wit has been very much cleansed in passing through the channels of the British press. The original fountain, like the sable streams described in Pope's Dunciad, is, if one may use the expression without a blunder, pure filth. The author was

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curate of a village near Paris, and, as we intimated above, enjoyed the protection and personal friendship of Francis I. It is rather a singular coincidence, considering the very peculiar and extravagant style of the humor common to both, that Rabelais and Swift were both clergymen. Rabelais, as well as Clement Marot, is said to have been a great favorite with Lafontaine, but the latter has not, like his English admirers, imitated his peculiar defects. The gaiety of Lafontaine, though occasionally free and even loose, is never foul.

Montaigne, with an equally powerful and original mind, has a much more pleasing and popular manner than Rabelais. His language, though antiquated, is perfectly intelligible; and possesses a great degree of force, perspicuity, and often beauty. His only work is a collection of Moral Essays, suggested probably in form by a perusal of the ancient writers of this class, such as Plutarch, Seneca, and Cicero, whom he appears to have thoroughly studied, but wholly independent, as respects the substance, of any model or authority. The principal charm in fact of this work, is the complete freshness and truth of the observations on life and manners; and the secret of it appears to lie in the care with which the author studied the movements of his own heart and mind. He declares throughout his work, that he has made himself the exclusive object of his own study, and while other writers generally affect some degree of diffidence about entertaining the public with their personal concerns, he openly avows that he is ignorant and careless of every thing else. He has accordingly interwoven in his essays the principal events in his own history and that of his family, with a description of his dwelling-house and property, and his mode of life and study. He dwells with fondness upon the memory of his father, and the kindness with which he was educated in the midst of the domestic circle, to which cause he is disposed to attribute his own easy and cheerful disposition. He speaks of his travels in different countries,—mentions the facility with which he every where accommodated himself to the varying manners and customs of the different nations he visited, congratulates himself upon the success with which, though cast upon a most tumultuous and stormy period, and belonging to the class of society whose movements naturally attract observation, he had been able on the whole to steer clear of the troubles and agitations of the day, and even to secure in a high degree the approbation and favor of the public.

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He enlarges repeatedly on all the minute circumstances connected with his private pursuits, such as the state of his health, and his domestic habits and accommodations. He makes us acquainted with his associates, and particularly his dear and intimate friend Etienne de la Boëtie, for whom he seems to have entertained a warmth of attachment, inconsistent with the professed *nonchalance* and selfishness of his character. He gives an interesting description of the final scene of this apparently most amiable and deserving person, who died in the arms of Montaigne, at a little over thirty years of age, and at the opening of a most promising career of public honor and usefulness. These personal details are not given in one place, in the form of a regular narrative, but are interspersed in separate snatches through the Essays, and related in the most familiar way. Hence they give to the profound observations on life and manners with which they are mixed, a degree of popularity and attraction which they would not otherwise possess, and no doubt constitute the great charm of the work. It is in fact, under the form of a series of dissertations on general subjects, a sort of loose and irregular autobiography,—and books of that class, when written with truth and spirit, are among the most agreeable and instructive of all. This is the leading fact that serves to determine the peculiar character of Montaigne's Essays. The author was a gentleman of honorable birth and hereditary property. He resided on the estate from which he took his name, in the south of France, not far from Bordeaux. He seems not to have taken an active part in the religious and civil wars which desolated the kingdom at the period when he lived, but from several passages in his works it would seem that he was not friendly to the Reformation. He resided occasionally at Bordeaux, and was twice in succession chosen Mayor of that city, contrary to the usage which prevailed of not re-electing the same person. He mentions this fact as a proof of the favorable opinion entertained of him by his countrymen.

The philosophy of Montaigne seems at first view to incline to the Epicurean and skeptical schools; but though his tone varies from time to time, his doctrine is in the main reconcilable with the most correct views of moral science, and appears to be the natural effusion of a sound judgment and a warm and generous heart. He describes himself as fond of an easy life, and recommends tranquillity and independence of

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public opinion as among the most important ingredients of happiness. But this independence, as he explains it, is not a selfish indifference to the welfare of others, but rather a noble superiority to false and imaginary goods, and a correct estimate of the real value of the various objects of pursuit and ambition.

'Qui n'est homme de bien que parcequ'on le sçaura et parcequ'on l'en estimera mieulx aprèz l'avoir sçeu; qui ne veult bien faire qu'en condition que sa vertu vienne à la cognaissance des hommes, celuy-là n'est pas personne de qui on puisse tirer beaucoup de service. Il fault aller à la guerre pour son debvoir; et en attendre cette recompense qui ne peult faillir à toutes belles actions pour occultes qu'elles soient, non pas même aux *vertueuses pensées;* c'est le contentement qu'une conscience bien reglée reçeoit en soy de bien faire. Il fault être vaillant pour soy-même et pour l'advantage que c'est d'avoir son courage logé en une assiette ferme et assurée contre les assaults de la fortune. Ce n'est pas pour la montre que nostre âme doibt jouer son roolle; c'est chez nous, au dedans, ou nuls yeux ne donnent que les nostres, là elle nous couvre de la crainte de la mort, des douleurs et de la honte mêsme, elle nous asseure là de la perte de nos enfants, de nos amis, et de nos fortunes; et quand l'opportunité se presente elle nous conduict aussi aux hasards de la guerre, non pour quelque emolument mais pour l'amour même de la vertu. Ce proufit est bien plus grand et bien plus digne d'estre souhaité et esperé que l'honneur et la gloire qui n'est qu'un favorable jugement qu'on porte de vous. Allons constamment après la raison: que l'approbation publicque nous suyve par là si elle veult; et comme elle despend toute de la fortune nous n'avons point loy de l'esperer plustôt par aultre voye que par celle là. Quand pour sa droiture je ne suyvrois le droit chemin, je le suyvrois pour avoir trouvé par experience qu'au bout du compte c'est communément le plus heureux et le plus utile. J'ai veu de mon temps mill' hommes soupples, mestis, ambigus, et que nul ne doubtoit plus prudents mondains que moy se perdre ou je me suis sauvé.'

In this passage (which affords a favorable specimen of the author's language as well as of his doctrine) the philosophy is pure and noble, and is not liable to the objections that are justly urged against the sordid sensualism, which has subsequently gained an extensive currency in France, and which has sometimes been defended on the authority of Montaigne. But here, as in most other parts of his essays, the author has not given quite so favorable a representation of his

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own doctrines as they would justly admit, or rather as properly belongs to them. His object is to elevate the mind above the seduction of merely sensual pleasure and the indiscriminate thirst for popular applause; but it is not the only, nor the best way of doing this to recommend an exclusive regard to our own opinions as a guide of action, and to self applause as the reward of virtue. We are so constituted, that the opinion and authority of others are often our best rules of conduct, and that the love and approbation of others are necessary to our happiness. A desire to obtain the affection and respect of those around us, and of the world, is natural to all; and to feel it in a high degree, instead of being, as Milton calls it, the infirmity of noble minds, is, on the contrary, the proof of their nobility. This desire is one of the safest and most virtuous motives to action, although it may, doubtless, when carried to excess, and ill directed, produce unfavorable results. Our own approbation, and the approbation of others, considered as the objects and rewards of good conduct, when pursued with a correct and enlightened judgment, coincide exactly in their recommendations. As respects the errors, into which we may possibly be led by both, they serve alike as mutual checks one upon the other. To represent either of them, absolutely speaking, as a proper object of pursuit, is therefore correct; but to represent one alone as such, to the omission or exclusion of the other, would be an error; and to give this preference to the selfish over the social principle, imparts to moral philosophy an unamiable and repulsive as well as false aspect. Montaigne would have doubtless admitted the propriety of the qualification of his doctrine, which we have here suggested; but the error which we have pointed out runs through his whole work, and is the more necessary to be noted, as it renders the system liable to perversion in the hands of the abject or malignant.

The apparent disposition of Montaigne to throw out of sight the social part of our nature, and to exalt the value of the selfish principle, is the more remarkable, because he appears to have possessed, himself, by nature an uncommonly kind and affectionate temper. It is easy to see from his works, which give us an epitome and picture of his life, that his heart overflowed with benevolent feelings in all their forms, as well as with a natural good humor, which presented every object to him under the most favorable point of view. He attributes the

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mildness and sweetness of his temper, as we remarked above, to the gentleness with which he had been educated in his father's house, and dwells with touching expressions of gratitude and tenderness upon the memory of his parents. His attachment to his friend, Stephen de la Béotie, seems to have been of a singularly warm and even romantic cast. There are few scenes in poetical description more affecting than his account of his friend's death, given in a letter to his father. It is also a strong proof of his amiable character, that in his old age he acquired the intimate friendship of a young lady of rank and fortune, Mademoiselle de Gournay, whom he often mentions in strong terms of attachment, and who after his death published an edition of his works. The letter to his wife, whom he addresses under the style of *Madamoiselle de Montaigne ma femme*, prefixed to a posthumous edition by himself of La Béotie's translation of Plutarch's letter of consolation to his wife, is strongly expressive of sincere and unaffected regard. It is evident, therefore, that Montaigne was led by accident or example, in expressing his opinions and feelings in the abstract, to make use of language which did not always correctly represent them, and as he took no pains to arrange his thoughts systematically, he was not reminded, as he would have been in that case, of the opposition between some of his principles and his habitual sentiments. But as the passages that describe and express the latter are those which make the most agreeable impression on the reader, the effect of the perusal of his works is on the whole highly favorable. There is a good deal of inequality between the essays, which were written at different and pretty remote periods of life, and the style of some of them is rather too free to suit the modern taste, but the work is on the whole of excellent tendency, and may be read with equal entertainment and instruction.

The language of Montaigne, although antiquated and incorrect, has great force and beauty. The best writers of the modern school, particularly Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Bernardin de St. Pierre, have been among his warmest admirers, and are probably indebted in part to their study of his works for the new power and richness which the language acquired under their hands. On the whole, his essays may be considered with justice as on every account one of the most curious and valuable portions of the literature of his country.

The poets who immediately succeeded Marot, some of whom

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enjoyed great celebrity during their lives, failed entirely in their attempts to carry the language beyond the point of improvement at which he left it, and are now considered as of no value. Ronsard particularly, whom even Montaigne extols as a sort of Phenix, approaches very nearly to the burlesque, and it appears wonderful that he could ever have been tolerated, not to say admired. The following verses, in which he praises extravagantly one of the wretched tragic poets of his time, will serve at once as a specimen of his taste and style.

Jodelle, le prémier, d'une plainte hardie,
Françoisement chanta la Grecque tragédie,
Puis en changeant de ton chanta devant nos rois
La jeune comédie en langage François;
Et si bien les sonna que Sophocle et Menandre,
Tant fussent ils savans, y eussent pu apprendre.

Sophocles and Menander, as La Harpe very justly observes, could have learned nothing in the school of Jodelle, excepting that he had not sufficiently studied in theirs. No advances were therefore made in the formation of a pure and correct style from the time of Marot until that of Malherbe, who flourished in the reign of Louis XIII., and to whom is allowed by all the great merit of having first exhibited the language in the precise form which it has ever since worn, and of having settled the principles of versification. Boileau describes, in the following passage of his *Art Poétique*, the influence of this writer upon the language and literature of his country.

Enfin Malherbe vint, et, le prémier en France,
Fit sentir dans les vers une juste cadence,
D'un mot mis en sa place enseigna le pouvoir,
Et réduisit la muse aux regles du devoir.
Par ce sage écrivain la langue réparée
N'offrit plus rien de rude à l'oreille épurée;
Les stances avec grace apprirent à tomber,
Et le vers sur le vers n'osa plus enjamber.
Tout reconnut ses lois; et ce guide fidèle
Aux auteurs de ce temps sert encor de modèle.

To exercise an authority of this kind in the world of letters, argues an extraordinary talent, greater perhaps than we should now be disposed to allow to Malherbe, judging of him, as we do, by comparison with the multitude of powerful and classical writers who have since appeared; and who, though more or

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less indebted to him as the first model of the modern French style, have gone beyond him in strength and beauty of expression. Nevertheless, his works, which consist entirely of lyric poems, though unequal, and eclipsed on the whole by some others of the same class, particularly those of Racine and J. B. Rousseau, contain passages hardly inferior to the best in theirs; and when his style is compared with that of any preceding poet, it is easy to recognise his immense superiority, and to understand the secret of his prodigious effect and reputation. Compare, for example, with the above specimen of the manner of Ronsard, the following extract from an ode by Malherbe, imitated from Scripture, in which he describes the vanity of earthly greatness.

Ont-ils rendu l'esprit? Ce n'est plus que poussière,
Que cette majesté si pompeuse et si fière,
Dont l'éclat orgueilleux étonnoit l'univers;
Et dans ces grands tombeaux ou leurs âmes hautaines
Font encore les vaines,
Ils sont rongés de vers.

Là se perdent ces noms de maîstres de la terre,
D'arbitres de la paix,—de foudres de la guerre;
Comme ils n'ont plus de sceptre ils n'ont plus de flatteurs;
Et tombent avec eux d'une chûte commune
Touts ceux que la fortune
Faisoient leurs serviteurs.

What a contrast between the full, natural flow of these verses, and the awkward halting gait of the others! The dignity of the thoughts corresponds with the superiority of the style, and we recognise in both the expression of a master mind. When we take into view, in connexion with these absolute indications of talent, the peculiar merit that belongs to the first discoverers in any art or science, we shall feel no difficulty in ranking the name of Malherbe among the very highest that distinguish the literature of his country.

Nearly contemporary with Malherbe, but a little later in the reign of Louis XIII., appears Voiture, a writer of high reputation in his day, and one who probably contributed a good deal to improve and confirm the public taste, although his merit is of a much lower order than that of his distinguished predecessor. His poems are all of a light and familiar character, and in that respect resemble very much those of Clement

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Marot. But though superior to the latter in power of language, Voiture falls below him in grace and beauty of expression, qualities which form the great and only charm of this kind of poetry. The following verses, which were not printed by himself in the collection of his works, but are preserved in the memoirs of Madame de Motteville, are reckoned the best that he has written. They show at once the character of his poetical talent, and the familiar terms on which he stood with the Court. They were addressed to Anne of Austria, the Queen Regent of the kingdom, who had seen him walking in the gardens of one of her country residences, apparently deep in thought, and sent to ask him what he was thinking of. A few moments after, he carried these verses to her Majesty. It will be recollected that she had been persecuted by the Cardinal de Richelieu, and at a preceding period courted by the Duke of Buckingham. Father Vincent was her confessor.

Je pensais si le Cardinal
(J'entends celui de la Valette)
Pouvait voir l'éclat sans égal
Dans lequel maintenant vous êtes;
J'entends celui de la beauté,
Car auprès je n'estime guère
(Cela soit dit sans vous deplaire)
Tout l'éclat de la Majesté.

Je pensais que la destinée,
Après tant d'injustes malheurs,
Vous a justement couronnée
De gloire, d' éclat et d' honneurs,
Mais que vous étiez plus heureuse
Lorsque vous étiez autrefois,
Je ne veux pas dire amoureuse,
La rime le veut toutefois.

Je pensais que ce pauvre amour,
Qui toujours vous prête ses charmes,
Est banni loin de votre cour
Sans ses traits, son arc et ses armes;
Et ce que je puis profiter,
En passant près de vous ma vie,
Si vous pouvez si maltraiter
Ceux qui vous ont si bien servie.

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Je pensais, (nous autres poëtes
Nous pensons extravagamment)
Ce que dans l'humeur ou vous êtes
Vous feriez si dans ce moment
Vous avisiez en cette place
Venir le Duc de Buckingham,
Et lequel serait en disgrace
De lui ou du père Vincent.

Such were the principal steps that had been taken in the formation of the French language and literature, and the principal writers who had cultivated them with success before the appearance of the Cid of Corneille, which opens the brilliant period of Louis XIV. It is curious to compare the power and richness, with which almost every department of polite learning then burst out into sudden maturity, with the meagre and rude condition of all for centuries preceding, up to this moment. No correct and pure prose had yet been seen. One poet of real first rate merit, and he not very generally known or valued in his day, together with one or two others of a secondary order, who had exhibited models of a classical style, enlighten the close of this long night of barbarism, and serve to announce the following epoch. The drama had been cultivated with as much industry as in England or Spain, but not with the same success. For while in the latter countries the greatest exhibition of talent took place before the formation of a pure and correct taste in style, nothing of the least value under any point of view seems to have been brought out in France under the corresponding circumstances. The *Mysteries* and *Moralities* of the middle ages, and the subsequent attempts on the Greek model for a hundred years before Corneille, are universally allowed by natives and foreigners to be wholly worthless. There was the same abundance of products as in other countries. Some of the dramatic poets of this period, whose very names are now strange to the public ear, were the authors of eight or nine hundred plays. It would be worth inquiry why, under the same circumstances, the dramatic poets of France should have failed so completely, when those of the Peninsula and of England wrought with such brilliant success; but we have not room here to enter on the subject. No sooner, however, had the example of Malherbe and the study of the Spanish models, together with the innate vigor of his own genius, inspired the great Corneille, than talent and

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taste seemed to spread through the capital of France by a sort of contagion, and there appeared such a cluster of really great writers as has never perhaps existed together at any other epoch. It may well be supposed, that a sudden effect of this description could hardly be independent of political causes; and before we proceed to a more detailed examination of the character and value of the learning of this age, it may be proper to take a rapid review of the circumstances of the country, with which it was so intimately connected. It will be found that the concurrent influence of two individuals, both extraordinary, though in very different ways, was among the most effective causes of its existence and peculiar character. These persons were the Cardinal de Richelieu and Lewis XIV.

We have remarked, in a preceding article, that the progress of the Provençal literature, the earliest form under which the genius of France displayed itself, had been checked by adverse political events before it reached the period of maturity. Its flourishing epoch was that of the Crusades, and it seems to have been indebted to the free and frequent communication which existed at that time (though in a hostile shape) between Europe and Asia, for some of its peculiar characteristics. The Saracens were the most polite and cultivated people in the Western world, and they infused into the manners and literature of their ruder Christian neighbors, something of the wild grace and voluptuous gallantry which belonged to their own. With the close of the Crusades this communication ceased, and there ensued in France, and indeed throughout Europe, a period of political confusion and uproar almost unparalleled in the history of any other part of the world. The long struggles, between the different pretenders to the crown of France, were of the nature of civil wars, and carried desolation through the heart of that fine country. This fatal quarrel had scarcely been settled, and the kingdom, under the politic administration of Louis XI., begun to assume a consolidated shape, when the Reformation came on, and threw this unhappy people again into two adverse parties, embittered against each other by the most violent principles of hatred that can agitate the human mind. Humanity sickens at the series of crimes and horrors, that form the history of this period. But what could be expected of the people, when the king himself set the example of assassination with his own hands, at the butchery of St. Bartholomew? Every house was a fortress, every gar-

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den a field of battle, and every man was pressed into the service on one side or the other. In this state of things it was hardly natural that the public taste should be formed, or that literature should be much encouraged or make very great progress. There prevailed nevertheless at the Court of France during these troubles a strong passion for letters, which, under more favorable political circumstances, would infallibly have led to a rapid improvement. Francis I. was ambitious of the title of the Father of Learning, and his sister, Queen Margaret of Navarre, was, as we have remarked, one of the best writers of the day. Clement Marot was a great favorite and intimate of both. Rabelais and Montaigne flourished at the same period. We may trace perhaps in part to the influence of Francis, the first real movement in the progress of the national literature which resulted in the formation of the *naif* style. Even Charles IX., the infamous author of the St. Bartholomew, had acquired a taste for poetry at the court of his predecessor, and although he died at the early age of eight and twenty, already cultivated it with some success. But the fruit that might have sprung from these seeds of improvement was choked by the troubles of the period. The white plume of Henry IV., which, as he himself said, was always to be seen in the path of honor, and, as he might have added, by the aid of his friend Sully, in that of wisdom and virtue, floated for a few years above the tempest that distracted his country, an assurance of good things, and a promise of better; but before he had time to accomplish his benevolent views, a fanatical priest planted a dagger in his heart in the name of religion.

It was during the minority of his successor, Louis XIII., that the master spirit of Cardinal de Richelieu came into action. All Europe was writhing in convulsions. The Swedes, the Danes, and the Italians, were carrying desolation through Germany. A civil war was raging in the Netherlands, and the Spaniards, who maintained their ascendancy in the Southern part of these provinces, fomented the domestic differences of the French, and often carried their arms into the heart of the kingdom. In the South of France the Huguenots were in open rebellion, and had established a republic of their own, of which the capital was Rochelle. The whole nation, including the Royal Family, took part in the disputes; and, to crown the whole, the king was one of the weakest and least effective sovereigns that ever occupied the throne.

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The powerful genius of Richelieu, aided no doubt by circumstances, and particularly by the effect of the general exhaustion and fatigue, succeeded pretty soon in quieting his own country and preparing the way for the pacification of Europe. Unfettered by any consideration of principle or feeling, and endowed with a strong unbending energy of purpose, he was precisely the person best fitted by character to contend with the hostile elements that were warring around him. He took the field in person against the Huguenots, laid siege at once to their capital, and, imitating the manoeuvre which had been employed by Alexander the Great at the conquest of Tyre, threw a dyke over the mouth of the harbor, and soon starved out his enemies. While the warlike Cardinal was rivalling the fame of the son of Philip, the Duke of Buckingham, with a strong English fleet,—came,—looked on, and,—forgetting to imitate the third and most essential part of the proceedings of the Roman hero,—returned without fighting. Richelieu in the mean time sustained, in Germany, by all the weight of his influence and resources, the same Protestant party which he was crushing by force of arms in his own country. At court his dominion was despotic and uncontrolled. The King was unable to protect his own family and friends, the moment they made themselves obnoxious to the fury of the minister. Cinq-Mars and De Thou (Thuanus), the dearest personal favorites of Louis XIII., mounted the scaffold, and the Queen-mother with several of the princes went into exile. This vigorous system, while it broke the spirit of the monarch, subdued at the same time the inveterate fury of the factions, tranquillized the nation at home, and secured its influence abroad. From this period must be dated the revival of the grandeur of France, which had exercised but little influence in Europe before, since the time of Charlemagne. Just at this epoch a brilliant development of military talent also occurred in the persons of the great Condé and Turenne, who first signalized themselves in Germany, at the close of the thirty years' war. At the age of twenty-one, Condé placed himself by a sudden effort among the most illustrious captains of his day, and gave a promise which was certainly not excelled, and was, perhaps, not realized by his subsequent career. Under these auspices were instituted, and carried on for several years at Munster and Osnaburgh, the negotiations which terminated in the pacification of the North of Europe, and prepared the way for that of the South.

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The mere restoration of internal tranquillity would have probably done much, in connexion with the impulse given by the example of other countries, to encourage the progress of literature in France; but the Cardinal de Richelieu employed more direct means to effect this object. The character of this eminent statesman combined the most opposite tastes and qualities, and he was hardly less remarkable for the degree and singularity of some of his weaknesses, than for his intellectual vigor. It is scarcely credible, but is nevertheless well known, that while his large schemes of policy comprehended the whole of Europe, while he was playing off nations, one against the other, like the pieces on a chess board, he was making it in private life a serious occupation to revive the ridiculous pageant of the Courts of Love, alluded to in a preceding article; and was accustomed to meet with a circle of friends at the house of his niece, Hortensia Mancini, for the purpose of gravely discussing the sentimental problems that were anciently agitated before these tribunals. The Cardinal had also a strong inclination for literary pursuits, and this quality, which might have been one of the brilliant parts of his character, exhibited itself almost in the form of a weakness. With a decided fondness for poetry and polite literature, he appears to have had little or no power of execution in this line. His prose writings which are extant, have none of the qualities of a good style, and his attempts in dramatic poetry are said to have been very feeble, while his indiscriminate thirst for eminence led him to renew them continually, and inspired him with a strong jealousy of his rivals in the art. The Cardinal's passion for the drama was one of the immediate causes, that brought into action the genius of the great Corneille. The former seems to have thought that he could carry into poetry the same system which he habitually employed in politics and war, and execute a great part of his work by deputy. He accordingly appointed a committee of five persons, to aid him in the exercise of his poetical functions; and the future author of the Cid, then but little known to the public, was one of the number. For his services in this capacity the Cardinal allowed him a pension, which placed him at his ease in the world, and enabled him to devote himself without fear or scruple to his favorite art. The share which he may have had in the miserable attempts, brought forward under the name of Richelieu, is not known, but he soon produced in his own name the

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famous Cid, and opened with this tragedy the brilliant age of French literature. The Cardinal, as Fontenelle remarks, was as much alarmed at the appearance of the Cid, as he would have been if he had seen the Spaniards at the gates of Paris. He seems to have looked upon it as a sort of petty treason, for his literary lieutenants to do better in their own names than they did in his. He accordingly referred the case to the French Academy, and directed them to give their opinion publicly upon the merits of this tragedy, which they did in a formal report, drawn up by Chapelain, a wretched poet, though a person of some learning and judgment, then regarded by the rude taste of the age as the monarch of literature, and placed at the head of the Academy. This piece of criticism, which is extant, does honor upon the whole to the impartiality of that body, considering the circumstances under which it was written.

It is said that Augustus, at the height of his power, attempted in vain to introduce a single new word into the Latin language. Richelieu, in like manner, though virtually the master of Europe, found himself unable to prevent the success of a New French tragedy. 'In vain,' says Boileau, 'did the minister rally his forces against the Cid: all Paris looked at Chimène, with the eyes of Roderic.'

> En vain contre le Cid un ministre se ligue,
> Tout Paris pour Chimène a les yeux de Rodrigue.

Nor, to do him justice, does it appear that the Cardinal, however je alous of the success of the Cid, withdrew his protection from the author, who dedicated to him his next piece, *Les Horaces*, in terms of profound respect and fulsome adulation. At the Cardinal's death, which happened not long after, the poet wrote an epitaph upon him, which began and might as well have ended with the following lines.

> Qu'on parle comme on veut du fameux Cardinal,
> Ni ma prose ni mes vers n'en diront jamais rien;
> Il m'a fait trop de bien pour que j'en dise du mal;
> Il m'a fait trop de mal pour que j'en dise du bien.

The passion of Richelieu for the drama was therefore among the immediate causes which developed the genius of the father of French tragedy, and through him brought the art at once to a high degree of perfection. He is also entitled to the credit, whatever it may be, of having occasioned the founda-

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tion of the French Academy. This body was originally a vate association of a few gentlemen of literary taste and habits, who met together for merely social purposes at the house of Monsieur Conrart, a person much esteemed and beloved by the wits of the day, but who appears to have left no written monuments of his genius. Richelieu heard of this little club; and with the restless activity and rage for intermeddling in every body's business, that belonged to his character, immediately took it into his head that it might be converted into a great state institution, and made productive of vast benefit to the learning of the country. He accordingly proposed to the members to give them a legal existence, by incorporating them, under the name of the French Academy. This proposition was not, as it seems, particularly agreeable to them. They probably thought, with great justice, that they should lose all the pleasure of their social meetings, without being able in their public capacity to produce any real effect. The Cardinal, however, was not a person to be resisted or trifled with upon any subject, and after candidly expressing their reluctance to accede to his wishes, and finding that he still persisted, they gave in, and were incorporated accordingly. The event has, perhaps, realized their anticipations more fully than those of Richelieu. The French Academy and the Royal Society of London are undoubtedly the two most distinguished bodies of the kind in existence, and have done all that can be done by such institutions to promote the cause of science and learning. But this *all* seems upon the whole to be very *little*. To discover new truths and to write good books, are things that can only be done by individuals in private, and are not within the scope of combined action. A free communication between the different persons engaged in literary and scientific pursuits is doubtless agreeable and useful; but this can only take place at private meetings, and is precluded by the formal organization of a corporate body. The only purpose, remaining for the latter, is therefore to encourage and reward individual exertion: but this is perhaps better done by the enlightened public, than by an association of the precise individuals who are thus to be encouraged and rewarded. However this may be, the merit of instituting the Academy, such as it is, belongs to Richelieu; and it is accordingly one of the laws of the association, that every new member shall

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introduce an encomium on the Cardinal in the address which he regularly pronounces upon his admission.

Such were the important services, direct and indirect, which were rendered by this distinguished prelate to the cause of letters. The work, which he left in an unfinished state, was completed under the patronage of Lewis XIV., during whose long and brilliant reign the French school of learning reached its perfection and flourished in all its glory. The vigorous administration of the Cardinal had repressed for a time, but not entirely destroyed the principles of internal discord, which after his death broke out again in the short and singular troubles of the civil war, commonly called the *Fronde.* His successor in the Ministry, Cardinal Mazarin, a man of shrewd and keen rather than powerful genius, did not acquire the same ascendancy over the feeling of the country which was possessed by Richelieu, and was somewhat unpopular on account of his Italian origin. Under these circumstances, another churchman of enterprising character and great power, afterwards known as Cardinal de Retz, undertook to supplant him, and made use, among other engines, of the highest Court of Justice, then called the Parliament of Paris, to effect his object. The question, after a while, took the form of an actual civil war, and the two most illustrious captains of their age and country, Turenne and Condé, both princes of the blood, did not think it unworthy of them to prostitute their talents by heading the adverse armies, which carried on the war in the heart of the kingdom and sometimes at the gates of Paris. This state of things was to all appearance sufficiently alarming, and might have produced the most fatal consequences. But the parties, at the height of the struggle, seem to have hardly known what they were contending about. No great principle of government, religion or national interest was really involved, and the quarrel finally subsided, as it had commenced, without any apparent cause. Cardinal Mazarin, who had been twice exiled during the troubles, kept his place, and died prime minister and virtual monarch, having personally concluded a peace with Spain, and restored the country to complete tranquillity at home and abroad. De Retz, a superior genius, obtained nothing but the empty honor of the Cardinal's hat, and passed the close of his life in retirement. Condé, who had made war for years upon the government, at the head

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of a combined Spanish and rebel army, was taken into favor without difficulty, and Lewis XIV., after passing his minority in the midst of continual alarm, a fugitive and an outlaw within his own kingdom,—hunted from city to city by an army of his subjects, commanded by a prince of his family,—trembling, every moment, with reason for his life,—succeeded at last to the crown, and reigned for more than fifty years without experiencing the least symptom of resistance or even uneasiness in any portion of his subjects.

The mind of this monarch, which possessed a good deal of native vigor, probably derived much benefit from this course of instruction in the school of adversity; and the ascendancy of his personal qualities seems to have had its effect in maintaining the general tranquillity, that had happily been restored just before his accession. When we attempt to analyze his character, it is somewhat difficult to give a satisfactory account of his remarkable success, for it does not appear that he possessed in an uncommon degree any of the intellectual or moral qualities, that constitute greatness and confer power. He had neither the head of Frederic the Great, nor the heart of Henry IV., no actual military talent, no depth or acuteness of thought, no real warmth or generosity of feeling,—finally, little or no information, for his education had been purposely neglected by Mazarin. In compensation for all these deficiencies, he possessed a fine person, and a naturally dignified and imposing manner, much firmness of purpose (the highest quality about him), and a strong sense of the decorum that belonged to his position. A king is to a certain extent a theatrical personage, and under favorable circumstances may effect a great deal by going through the representation of his office in the best possible manner. Lewis XIV., partly by a sort of natural instinct, and partly by means of much study and attention, seems to have well understood and successfully discharged this branch of his royal duties. His deportment always commanded respect, and though by no means scrupulous in regard to his pleasures and amusements, he always kept them within the bounds of decency and good taste. Though incapable of great achievements himself, he had a mind superior to base and sordid pursuits, and could appreciate in others the talents which he did not possess. Though always dignified and imposing, he was often pointed and happy in familiar conversation, and seems to have exhibited in this

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way more actual force of mind than in any other. In a word, he uniformly displayed the outward forms of greatness and goodness, which to a certain extent suppose the substance, and which also to a certain extent take its place when it is wanting. If we compare him with his contemporary, Charles II. of England, who, though not a great monarch, had perhaps more real ability than Lewis, we see distinctly the immense value of mere decorum and self-respect, in the absence of the higher and more striking qualities of the mind and heart. Charles II., who never said a foolish thing, is also reported, with some truth, to have never done a wise one. Lewis XIV., whose sayings were much less brilliant, and whose stock of real wisdom was not much greater, obtained, by the aid of some superficial talents which the other wanted, the success and reputation of one of the greatest sovereigns of modern times.

A prince of this description could not well overlook the brilliant display of literary talent, that was just taking place at his court and capital. The active encouragement of Richelieu had done much in producing it, and the mere restoration of the internal tranquillity of the kingdom would have greatly aided its progress, but the marked attentions which were shown by the king to men of genius and letters, and the vogue and popularity thus conferred upon them, produced its effect in animating their zeal. Lewis XIV., though he had no literary talent himself, had intelligence and sensibility enough to feel the effect of good sense and good poetry. He also delighted in public exhibitions and entertainments of all kinds, and consequently valued very highly the dramatic talent which gave so much attraction to his theatres. The most distinguished poets of his time were admitted to his personal and familiar society, and were rewarded with honorable places and pensions. Racine, for example, was historiographer, treasurer of France, and the king's private secretary and chamberlain. Molière, who in his capacity of actor could not claim so high a social position, had the title of *valet de chambre* to the King, an office of great consideration and handsome profit. Lafontaine alone, of the eminent poets of the time, for reasons not distinctly known, does not appear to have shared the monarch's favor. At the same time, the highest dignities of the Church were laid open to the claims of eloquence and literary talent, instead of being, according to the wretched system of

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some countries, restricted to individuals of high birth. Bossuet, Fénélon, and Fléchier illuminated with the splendor of their genius the principal episcopal and archiepiscopal sees. An obscure adversary would not have brought down the eagle of Meaux so easily as Rousseau afterwards subdued the Archbishop of Paris; nor, if a similar process were now adopted in England, should we see the defence of Religion in that country given over by the clergy to the attorney general. Lewis XIV., in short, affected the reputation of a patron of learning, and even conferred pensions on various foreign writers. Without attaching too much importance to this circumstance, since no artificial encouragement can ever create genius, we may safely say, that it had a considerable effect in producing the French school of literature. On the other hand, the same circumstance connected the name of Lewis XIV. much more directly and intimately than it otherwise would have been connected, with the brilliant constellation of poets and orators that adorned the period of his reign, and gave him a place in history, which might well satisfy a prince of higher pretension, by the side of Augustus and Pericles.

Having thus briefly stated the principal steps in the progress of French literature up to the time of this eminent monarch, and the circumstances which then produced its sudden and rapid development, we propose, on a future occasion, to notice the general characteristics that distinguish their school of learning, and to examine, in greater detail, the merits of some of its principal ornaments.

ART. IV.—*Peirce's History of Harvard University.*

A History of Harvard University, from its Foundation, in the Year 1636, *to the Period of the American Revolution.* By the late BENJAMIN PEIRCE, A. M., Librarian of the University. Cambridge. 1833.

THE work now before us will be read with the most lively interest, not only by every son of Harvard University, but by all who feel a regard for this ancient Seminary of learning, both on account of its own intrinsic merits as a place of

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education, and its importance as a component member of the admirable fabric of our New England institutions.

It was justly observed in the prospectus of this work, that the interests of the University are inseparably blended with the welfare of the state; and by the direction in our Constitution, while it is made the 'duty' of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to foster our seminaries of education, it is emphatically enjoined upon them to cherish '*especially the University at Cambridge.*' This injunction of the sagacious statesmen to whom we are indebted for our State Constitution, is in the same spirit with the liberality and enlarged views of the founders and benefactors of the institution; the most eminent of whom in the last century, Thomas Hollis, enriched the University with the rarest treasures of knowledge from the old world, in hopes,—as he earnestly expresses himself,—'of forming by that means, assisted by the energy of the leaders, always beneficent, a few *prime scholars, honors to their country, and lights to mankind.*'

If that excellent man and friend of liberty could now revisit the earth, and be a witness of those effects upon our favored country, which may be traced more or less directly to his noble exertions in the cause of his fellow-men, how would his patriotic bosom throb with delight at beholding the eminent individuals on this side of the Atlantic, who have been in a greater or less degree indebted to his generosity for the means of making themselves, as he had fervently hoped, 'honors to their country and lights to mankind!' How many of those eminent and patriotic statesmen, who became our leaders in that greatest of all modern events,—the American Revolution,—were nurtured in that school of liberty, which had been richly supplied by Hollis with the works of those illustrious dead, as well as of the living, who are justly regarded as our masters in thinking and writing, and, above all, in the principles of civil liberty! What a body of men could we exhibit to him in every profession,—divines, lawyers, physicians, merchants, artists, scholars, and every other description of persons of cultivated minds, who have been educated at this distinguished seat of learning! Justly, therefore,—as the editor informs us was the fact,—did the author of the present history, who was accustomed to reflect much and to weigh with exactness the current doctrines of the age, form a high opinion of the importance of the University,—much higher than is entertained

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'by those casual observers, who too generally estimate the value of public institutions and public measures by their momentary and palpable effects, and not by those of a more lasting but less obvious character;' and most earnestly do we hope, that the reflections excited by the reading of the present work, may have the effect to draw the attention of our *thinking* men to this all-important subject.

The present volume comprises the history of the University from its foundation, in the year 1636, to the period of the American Revolution; a period which, as the editor observes, 'from its antiquity and other causes, affords more materials than any other to gratify the natural desire felt by all men to look back to the illustrious deeds of their fathers.' Of these 'materials' we are glad to find, that the author has been able to collect many from original sources,—such as manuscript notices, memorandums, diaries of deceased individuals who were educated at the University, and personal information from aged graduates, 'recently or still living.' Among these graduates was the late Dr. Holyoke, in the class of 1746, and the Hon. Paine Wingate, of Stratham in New Hampshire, a member of the class of 1759; to the latter of whom, as 'the eldest surviving graduate,' and 'to the other sons of Harvard University,' the work is with great propriety dedicated, by request of the author's family. Several letters from Mr. Wingate to the author, written at the age of ninety-two years, form a most interesting portion of the materials preserved in the work. The editor justly observes, that these letters have a peculiar interest, as the productions of one, who, 'at the great age of ninety-two years, writes a firm hand, and has a freshness of recollection and a vigor of intellect, which fall to the lot of few men.' We shall have occasion to make some extracts from them.

The motives, which impelled our forefathers to establish this seminary of learning at so early a period of the colony, and under such great difficulties as they experienced, are well stated by Mr. Peirce in his introductory paragraphs:

'The first settlers of New England were men who understood and felt the importance of education. While as a body they were well instructed, many individuals among them came stored with the various learning of the English Universities. From those renowned institutions, even if nonconformity to the established church would not have been an exclusion, their distance

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would, generally speaking, have formed an insuperable bar to the enjoyment of any direct benefit. Scarcely, therefore, had the Pilgrim fathers of New England subdued a few spots in the wilderness, where they had sought shelter from persecution, when their solicitude to transmit to future generations the benefits of learning, impelled them, while yet struggling with many and great difficulties, to enter upon the work of providing here for such an education in the liberal arts and sciences, as was to be obtained in Europe; justly regarding an establishment for that purpose as an essential part of the fabric of civil and religious order, which they were employed in constructing, and which, with some modification, now happily stands so noble a monument of their energy of character, of their love of well-regulated liberty, of their wisdom, virtue, and piety.

'To minds less enlightened, less impresssd with the value of liberal studies, and less resolved on achieving whatever duty commanded, such a project would have presented itself in vain; but from the fathers of New England it was precisely the measure which was to have been expected; it flowed from their principles and character, as an effect from its legitimate cause; and while the qualities of a stream are a test of the nature of its source, this venerable institution must be regarded as a memorial of the wisdom and virtue of its pious founders.'

It is impossible for us to give a regular analysis of the contents of this valuable work; it contains such a mass of facts that we should be compelled to transcribe a great portion of it, in order to give a complete view of its several parts. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with selecting a few of the most interesting particulars.

While we admire the large donation made by the ever-honored John Harvard, at the foundation of our University, we are not less gratified, perhaps amused, at the trifling articles which benevolent individuals thought worthy of presenting to it. Mr. Peirce makes an enumeration of several of them, accompanied with the just reflections contained in the following extract:

'In looking over the list of early benefactions to the College, we are amused, when we read of a number of sheep bequeathed by one man, a quantity of cotton cloth worth nine shillings presented by another, a pewter flagon worth ten shillings by a third, a fruit-dish, a sugar spoon, a silver tipt jug, one great salt, one small trencher-salt, by others; and of presents or legacies amounting severally to five shillings, nine shillings, one pound, two

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pounds, &c., all faithfully recorded with the names of their respective donors. How soon does a little reflection change any disposition we may have to smile, into a feeling of respect, and even of admiration! What, in fact, were these humble benefactions? They were contributions from the "res angusta domi"; from pious, virtuous, enlightened penury, to the noblest of all causes, the advancement of education. The donations were *small*, for the people were poor; they leave no doubt as to the motives which actuated the donors; they remind us of the offering, from "every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation;" and, like the widow's mite, indicate a respect and zeal for the object, which would have done greater things, had the means been more abundant.'

Among the donations of more importance, every scholar will feel interested in knowing the fact, that the celebrated *Theophilus Gale*, author of that remarkable work, 'the Court of the Gentiles,' and no less distinguished for his independence of character than his learning, bequeathed his books to this University, and that they constituted more than half of its library at that period.* Another illustrious donor was the well known Bishop *Berkeley*, who presented some of the Greek and Latin classics, and whose visit to the University, on the 17th of September 1731, is particularly noticed.†

In connexion with the library we are naturally reminded of the printing press at Cambridge, which, as Mr. Peirce observes, was the first one established in America, north of Mexico.‡ It is an interesting fact, too, that in consequence of the publication of some small religious treatises, 'which were thought to be too liberal,' the General Court, in 1662, saw fit to appoint two 'licensers,' Major General Gookin, and the Rev. Mr. Mitchel, of Cambridge. The very next year the press was restored to its former liberty; but the fears of the Government being again awakened, they passed a still more rigorous order than before. They permitted no press to be established except at Cambridge, and required for every book a previous licence from 'the President of the college, from Mr. Sherman, Mr. Mitchel, and Mr. Shepherd, or any two of them; subjecting every offender to the forfeiture of his press, and interdiction of his employment.'§ But what will surprise

* Hist. p. 47. † P. 160. ‡ P. 6. § Pp. 26, 27.

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the reader at the present day, is this singular fact; that after the licensers had permitted the printing of one work, the General Court directed them to re-examine it, and in the mean time forbade its farther progress through the press. The work, which so troubled the rulers of our country at that time, was no other than the celebrated treatise ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, entitled 'Imitation of Christ.' Upon this curious occurrence Mr. Peirce makes the following remark,—'Which is most to be admired, the liberality of the Puritan licensers, who must have regarded popery as the most frightful of monsters, in allowing the work of a Roman Catholic *monk* to be printed, or the bigotry of the Court in forbidding it, is left to others to determine.'

Another interesting fact, connected with the literature of that early period in our history, is, President Mather's establishment, about 1679, of a 'philosophical society of agreeable gentlemen, who met once a fortnight, for a conference upon improvements in Natural Philosophy and additions to the stores of Natural History.' This society was of short duration; but it made some contributions to science, which are to be found in the Transactions of the Royal Society of London.* In their pursuits of science it will excite surprise at the present day, that there was a general opposition to *inoculation* for the small pox; but it should ever be remembered, to the honor of the famous *Cotton* Mather, that he was one of the few who had the intrepidity to recommend and encourage it. This he did 'in opposition to most of the physicians and of the multitude,' but with the support of the clergy.† To such a height was the rage of the populace carried, that a lighted shell, filled with gun-powder, was one evening thrown into his parlor window!‡

The first head of the University was Nathaniel Eaton, who was called simply *Master*, or *Professor*. His successor, Dunster, took the title of *President*, which has been kept up to the present time, with the exception of Mr. Willard, of Boston, in 1701, who took the title of *Vice*-President; which, as our author seems to intimate, though with some doubt, was given with the view of avoiding a direct collision with an order requiring that the *Presidents* should reside in Cambridge. We ought to add, that for a short period the title of *Rector* was also used.§

* P. 56. † P. 69. ‡ P. 141. § Pp. 73. 79.

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We may here mention that our author gives an account of the well-known controversy, which arose in President Leverett's time, respecting the rights of 'Resident Fellows,' to be members of the Corporation; which was brought up again, a few years ago. After a general statement of the subject, Mr. Peirce remarks,

'The merits of this question are left to others to decide; and, with the aid of the full and able discussion, which the only other attempt of a similar nature has recently produced, this will not probably be found a difficult task.'

Our readers will find abundant entertainment in various details of academic regulations and usages in the early periods of the college history. In the time of President Leverett a law was passed 'for reforming the extravagancys of Commencements,' and providing, that 'henceforth no preparation nor provision of either plumb cake, or roasted, boyled, or baked meates or pyes of any kind shal be made by any Commencer;' and that no 'such have any distilled lyquours in his chamber, or any composition therewith,' under penalty of a fine of twenty shillings, and forfeiture of the 'prohibited provisions.' An additional act was passed, 'that if any, who now doe or hereafter shall stand for their degrees, presume to doe any thing contrary to the said act, or goe about to evade it by *plain* cake,' they shall forfeit the honors of the College.'

Another law was made to prohibit 'the costly habits of many of the scholars, their wearing gold or silver lace or brocades, silk night-gowns, &c., as tending to discourage persons from giving their children a college education, and as inconsistent with the gravity and decency proper to be observed in this society.'

These laws, however, as the author justly observes, 'may be regarded, perhaps, rather as indications of the spirit of the times than as evidences of any unusual corruption in this society.'

We may here remark, that the *commons* gave occasion to dissatisfaction in early times, as they have more recently. This was one of the principal causes of complaint against the first *Master*, Eaton; in which case, however, it seemed that the blame lay principally with Mrs. Eaton, whose '*examination*' on that subject was first brought before the public, from the archives of the General Court, by our learned historian,

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Mr. Savage, and forms one of the most amusing articles of the Appendix to the present volume.* Mr. Peirce observes, that an idea of the quality of the commons may be formed from the accounts given by Dr. Holyoke, a graduate of 1746, and by Judge Wingate, of 1759; the former of whom stated to him, that the 'breakfast was two sizings of bread, and a cue of beer;' and the 'evening commons were a pye.' The latter says,—'As to the commons, there were in the morning none, while I was in college. At dinner we had, of rather ordinary quality, a sufficiency of meat of some kind, either baked or boiled; and at supper, we had either a pint of milk and half a biscuit, or a meat pie, or some other kind. Such were the commons in the Hall in my day. They were rather ordinary; but I was young and hearty, and could live comfortably upon them. I had some class-mates who paid for their commons, and never entered the Hall while they belonged to the college. We were allowed at dinner a cue of beer, which was a half-pint, and a sizing of bread, which I cannot describe to you. It was quite sufficient for one dinner." †

The author of the present History briefly considers the question, often agitated, Whether it is expedient to retain the system of Commons at the University; and he decides in favor of preserving it. As the question is of no small importance, practically speaking, we here give his remarks upon the subject, which, we think, are entitled to the consideration of those whose business it is to regulate this matter:

'That there are strong reasons, why the Commons should be supported, might be fairly inferred from the very fact of their having continued so long, though, on one side or another, so continually assailed. Such, indeed, a little reflection will show to be the truth. The Commons unite the very important advantages of furnishing a salutary diet, and of contracting the expense of a College education by keeping down the price of board. Their beneficial effects are extended beyond the walls of the College. To a great degree the Commons, it is believed, regulate the price and quality of board even in private families; and thus

* P. 31 of Appendix.

† P. 219. We have a suspicion, that the word *cue*, which, it seems, was the *fourth* part of a quart, is only the name of the letter *Q*, as the initial of the Latin *quadrans*, *quartus*, &c. Beaumont uses the same word *cue* for a *farthing*, which means a *fourth* part, or *fourthing*, if we may coin that word.

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secure in the town a general style of living, at once economical and favorable to health and to study. But the very circumstance, which is their chief recommendation, is the occasion also of all the odium which they have to encounter; that simplicity, which makes the fare cheap, and wholesome, and philosophical, renders it also unsatisfactory to dainty palates; and the occasional appearance of some unlucky meat, or other food, is a signal for a general outcry against the provisions. To remove, as far as possible, all grounds of complaint with respect to the price as well as the quality and conditions of the Commons, regulations, during President Holyoke's time, were frequently made in them by the Corporation and Overseers, who were exceedingly desirous that all the members of the College, officers living within the walls, as well as students, should be in Commons.'

To those persons who still regard the health of their children as of *importance*, and who can reason at all in their own case, these views of the author will approve themselves as founded on experience. But,—without intending to be very rigid on this point,—we fear there is some reason for applying, in our day, the remark made by Quinctilian, upon the youth of Rome,—Ante palatum eorum quam os instituimus; fit consuetudo, deinde natura;—and children become the victims of the over-tenderness of parents. This subject, however, will necessarily come into view in the attention now beginning to be bestowed on that much neglected matter, *physical education* in general.

The *discipline* of the University was enforced anciently by corporal punishment, as well as pecuniary mulcts. The author gives the following extraordinary instance, accompanied with his own reflections upon it:

'At the period when Harvard College was founded, one of the modes of punishment in the great schools of England and other parts of Europe was corporal chastisement. It was accordingly introduced here, and was no doubt frequently put in practice. An instance of its infliction, as part of the sentence upon an offender, is presented in Judge Sewall's MS. diary, with the particulars of a ceremonial, which was reserved probably for special occasions. His account will afford some idea of the manners and spirit of the age: "June 15, 1674, Thomas Sargeant was examined by the Corporation finally. The advice of Mr Danforth, Mr Stoughton, Mr Thacher, Mr Mather (the present) was taken. This was his sentence:

'"That being convicted of speaking blasphemous words con

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cerning the H. G., he should be therefore publickly whipped before all the scholars.

'"2. That he should be suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelor. (This sentence read before him twice at the President's before the Committee and in the Library, before execution.)

'"3. Sit alone by himself in the Hall uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the President and Fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise was appointed him by the President, or else be finally expelled the College. The first was presently put in execution in the Library (Mr Danforth Jr. being present) before the scholars. He kneeled down, and the instrument, Goodman Hely, attended the President's word as to the performance of his part in the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President. July 1, 1674."

'What an exhibition! Men's ideas must have been very different from those of the present day, to have tolerated a law authorizing so degrading a treatment of the members of such a society. It may easily be imagined, what complaints and uneasiness its execution must frequently have occasioned among the friends and connexions of those who were the subjects of it. In one instance it even occasioned the prosecution of a Tutor; but this was as late as the year 1733, when old rudeness had lost much of the people's reverence. The law, however, was suffered, with some modification, to continue more than a century. In the revised body of Laws made in the year 1734, we find this article: "Notwithstanding the preceding pecuniary mulcts, it shall be lawful for the President, Tutors, and Professors, to punish Undergraduates by Boxing, when they shall judge the nature or circumstances of the offence call for it." This relic of barbarism, however, was growing more and more repugnant to the general taste and sentiment. The late venerable Dr. Holyoke, who was of the class of 1746, observed, that in his day, "corporal punishment was going out of use"; and at length, it was expunged from the code, never, we trust, to be recalled from the rubbish of past absurdities.'

The *course of instruction*, at the first establishment of the University, is said, by the author, to have been as good as was afforded 'at the first schools in the old world;' and it is certainly a remarkable fact, that young men were sometimes sent to Harvard College *from England* to receive their education.*

It appears, that originally the *candidates for degrees* under-

* P. 8.

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went an examination, particularly just before Commencement; and degrees were conferred on those who exhibited satisfactory evidences of their scholarship and of their good conduct.

A century after the foundation of the College, the *requisitions for admission* do not appear to have been of so high a character, as we should suppose were originally prescribed. The subjoined extract on that point is from one of the editor's notes to the work:

'The following particulars of an *Examination* for admission at this period, taken from a MS. Diary of the late venerable Dr. Holyoke, who entered College in the year 1742, will show more distinctly the actual requisitions for admission, and will be interesting to the sons of Harvard:

' "An account of our examination the 13th day of July, 1742, viz. Foxcroft, Green, myself, and Putnam. Tutors, 3 Æneid 15 lines, Presid't, 2 Æneid, 24 lines, Virgil.—Tutors, 3 Catiline, Presid't, 2 Catiline, Tully.—Tutors, 12 Luke, Presid't, 25 Matthew, Greek Testament.—Memo. Mr. Flynt examin'd us in Tully; Mr. Hancock, in Virgil; Mr Mayhew, in Greek Test.; Mr Marsh, in no book, in the forenoon. In the afternoon examin'd by the Presid't, who gave us the following Themes: Foxcroft, Sapientia præstat viribus; Green, myself, Labor improbus omnia vincit; Putnam, Semper avarus eget. I finished my Theme the 19th day of July, 1742, and was admitted the ( ) of y^e^ August following (after having been on writing my College Laws 20 days, finished them the 10 of August.) And we began to recite on the Monday morning after the vacancy was up, which was the 23 day of August, in the year 1742." '—P. 238.

From the examination for admission into the University, our attention is naturally directed to the course of study, pursued during the four years' residence there. We take the studies of the period when President Holyoke was at the head of the Institution; just a century ago.

'In the early part of this presidency, and probably for many years before, the text books were the following: Latin and Greek classics,—Virgil, Cicero's Orations, Cicero's Offices, and a little of Homer; the Greek Testament; Ward's Mathematics, Gordon's Geographical Grammar, Gravesande's Philosophy, Euclid's Geometry; Wollebius's Compend of Theology, and Brattle's Compend of Logic, both in Latin; Watts's Logic, and Locke on the Human Understanding. They were all works of authority at that period. If to these we add the exercise of reading Greek into Latin, ' which would apply to the New Testament and that

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only,' Mr. Monis's Hebrew instructions, the lectures of the Professors of Divinity and Mathematics, and the President's expositions of the Scriptures at evening prayers twice a week, and disputations of the Juniors and Seniors, we shall have about the whole that was embraced by the collegiate course at that period. That there was sufficient room for addition is very apparent.'—P. 237.

Of this very insufficient course, too, until the year 1765, several branches were taught by the same instructer; there not being that sub-division of labor which is so essential to producing the greatest effect.

In the year 1765, however, a committee of the Overseers was appointed, at the head of which was that able and distinguished chief magistrate, Governor Hutchinson; they proposed, in 1766, a sub-division of the instruction,—that one tutor should teach Latin; another Greek, &c; and that the classes should attend the several tutors in rotation, weekly.

'A more important alteration,' says Mr. Pierce, 'in the arrangements of the College could not easily be imagined. Scanty as the above list of Text Books now appears, it was yet more than one man, unless far above the ordinary standard, could teach in a thorough and suitable manner, especially while he had other important duties to perform as a member of the Government. While the old system was calculated to keep education fixed and stationary, the new one admitted of an expansion in the circle of academical exercises, which was suited to the progress of learning and refinement and to the growing wants of society.' —P. 248.

It is a remarkable fact, connected with the history of Harvard University,—and a fact not much known,—that there was about this period (1762) a project for establishing a college in the county of Hampshire; which, as Mr. Pierce observes, threw the friends of the University 'into great alarm.' We give an abridged account of the project from our author.

'Some inhabitants of that county presented to the General Court, January 29th, 1762, "A memorial, showing, that there are a great number of people in the county of Hampshire, and places adjacent, disposed to promote learning, and by reason of their great distance from the Colleges, and the great expense of their education there, many of good natural genius are prevented a liberal education, and a large country filling up at the north-

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west of them, which will need a great number of men of letters; they therefore pray for an act of the government, constituting a Corporation with power to receive monies and improve them for setting up a Seminary for learning; and that a charter may be granted to the Corporation for the said Seminary, enduing it with power to manage all the affairs relative to the same, and confer the honors of learning upon the students of the same when qualified therefor."

'The subject of this memorial came several times before the General Court. A bill was brought in for establishing "an *Academy* in the Western parts of this province," and though it passed the House to be engrossed, it was finally lost.

'Governor Bernard himself then undertook "to prepare a charter for the establishment of a College or Collegiate School in the county of Hampshire"; but when it was ready for delivery, he thought proper to lay it before the Board of Overseers, which he did March 8th, 1762. The institution was to be called Queen's College; and with respect to the means of instruction it was to be on a footing with Harvard College, though some of the officers were to have different names, and it proposed to withhold the power of conferring degrees.'—P. 274.

The execution of this plan was deemed so injurious to the general interests of literature, as well as to the University, that a Committee of the Overseers was immediately appointed to request the Governor (Bernard,) 'not to grant the charter;' and they drew up a statement entitled 'Reasons against founding a College or Collegiate School in the county of Hampshire, humbly offered to the consideration of his Excellency, Francis Bernard, &c., Governor, &c., by the Overseers of Harvard College.' This paper was drawn up by the celebrated Dr. Mayhew; and, as Mr. Pierce observes, took 'a comprehensive view of the subject,' and offered 'considerations which are at all times entitled to great weight upon any project for the multiplication of colleges.' This able paper is given at large in the Appendix (p. 114) of Mr. Pierce's work, and is as worthy of the consideration of every friend of learning at the present day, as at the period when it was written.

So strong was the sensation caused by this project, that Governor Bernard returned a short but 'mild' answer, and agreed to suspend issuing the charter, and that he would 'not assist any applications for a like charter elsewhere.' The sensation was doubtless the stronger, in consequence of an apprehension that there was 'a scheme forming for sending a

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bishop into these parts,' and that Governor Bernard, 'a true churchman, was deep in the plot.'

We might have mentioned before, that there had been a previous alarm on the subject of episcopacy, as connected with our seminaries of learning and the church, in the case of the Rev. Timothy Cutler, the Rector of Yale College; who, with five clergymen of that vicinity, made an open declaration against the validity of *Presbyterian ordination.* The Trustees of Yale College immediately voted to 'excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further service.' He went to England, received Episcopal ordination, was honored with the degree of Doctor in Divinity from both the Universities there, and soon afterwards came to Boston, where he became rector of Christ Church.*

But the apprehensions of the friends of Congregationalism did not end here. After Mr. Cutler was settled in Boston, he made application to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, claiming the right of having notice to attend their meetings as a member. The question was debated in that body, and decided in the negative; 'the Board apprehending that he is not entitled thereunto.' He persevered, however, in his claim; and the Overseers were obliged again to discuss and decide the question; on which they came to the same conclusion as before. A similar decision was made in the case of the Rev. Samuel Myles, another Episcopal minister, who claimed 'that he might be notified *as formerly*, to sit at

* The following note, from Mr. Pierce's History, on the subject of the modes of ordination, will not be uninteresting to our readers.

'The Rev. Dr Eliot relates an anecdote of a somewhat earlier period, which shows the feelings of parties in relation to their mode of ordination. It happened in the case of Mr Israel Chauncy, the son of President Chauncy. "Israel," says Dr. Eliot, "lived longer than the others; he was the youngest son, and died soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century. His ordination has generally been styled *the leather-mitten ordination*, and much ridicule has been thrown upon it by Episcopal writers. The fact was, that when he was settled, the laymen of the Council insisted upon *their right of laying on hands*, and one of the brethren forgot to take off his mitten; hence it has been made to appear as a ludicrous circumstance, to lessen the solemnity of the Congregational mode of separating ministers. It was not long after this, that in Connecticut and Massachusetts the clergy deprived the brethren of this privilege. But could we now refuse them, if they insisted upon it?"---*Eliot's Biog. Dict.*, art. *Chauncy*, p. 101, note.

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the meetings of the Overseers of Harvard College.' Our author observes, that these gentlemen prosecuted their claims 'like men who were in earnest, and, so far as appears, with no lack of diplomacy and management.' There is some indication of this in a request they made to the Overseers for the names of the members present at the meeting when the above vote (of which they had been furnished with a copy by the clerk) was passed; a request which the Overseers,—who appear to have been quite a match for their opponents throughout,—refused to grant; 'it not having been usual for the clerk, in giving copies of the Overseers' votes, to affix their names.'

The claim was not, however, abandoned. 'Three petitions from the clergy and others of the Church of England, in divers parts of New England, were presented to the General Court' on the subject. The question was discussed at a subsequent session, and after the fullest consideration it was solemnly decided not to be within 'the intent and meaning of the Charter' that the Reverend Memorialists should be deemed members of the Board of Overseers.

But even this solemn decision of the General Court did not silence the claim. Dr. Cutler resorted once more to the Overseers themselves; who determined, as the affair had been 'once and again maturely considered by the Board and afterwards by the General Court,' that the memorial should be dismissed. Thus ended a controversy which occasioned no small embarrassment during its existence; and from that period the ecclesiastical part of that Board has been confined to ministers of the *Congregational* denomination.

It is a subject of no small interest in the history of the University to observe, that the religious sentiments of the individuals connected with it, either as overseers or instructers, have been an object of vigilance and solicitude with all who felt a regard for that seminary of learning. But it would, at the present day, excite much more surprise than it did a century ago, if a formal proposition should be made to enquire into the religious opinions of the Professor of *Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, as was done in the case of Professor Winthrop. When the appointment of Mr. Winthrop was laid before the Overseers for their approbation, and a Committee appointed to examine him 'as to his knowledge in the Mathematics,' a motion was also made, that a Committee should examine him

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'about his principles of religion;' but it passed in the negative. The motion, however, was renewed at a subsequent meeting,—'the fullest on record, excepting that in which the election of Mr. Holyoke was confirmed' as President,—but, after a long debate, it again passed in the negative. Upon this subject Mr. Peirce observes,—'It appears to have been thought by the liberal-minded majority, that a particular theological creed would render a man neither a better nor a worse instructer of philosophy; and accordingly they now confirmed the election of the Corporation.'

This immunity, however, as he further remarks, seems to have been confined to the professor of *Mathematics*. Even the tutors were examined as to their religious principles; and no doubt, says our author, 'for this reason, that they, as well as the President and the Professor of Divinity, were at that period required, not only to perform religious services in the chapel, but to give religious instruction to their respective classes.'

The examination in the case of the *French* instructer, a short time previous to that of Mr. Winthrop, will be new to most readers, and is interesting in many respects; particularly, as showing the interest taken in the study of the French language at that early period. That instructer,—whom we presume to have been a Roman Catholic, though it is not expressly stated by our author,—was charged with propagating 'dangerous errors' among the undergraduates; and the following proceedings took place at the Board of Overseers in relation to him:

'"May 13, 1735. The Committee report, that upon discoursing with the Rev'd President and Tutors who had examined Mr. Longloissorie and a number of his scholars, it did not appear, that Mr. Longloissorie had vented any of his dangerous errors among the undergraduates, nor that they had been embraced by any of the graduates to whom he had freely communicated them. But upon discoursing [with] Mr. Rogers, one of the Tutors, on occasion of the reports concerning him which were brought to this Board, he appeared to think it a hardship that he should be examined as to his particular sentiments on the said heads, when there had been no express charges laid in against him, and declined to give us any such answers as might enable us to report him free and clear of those opinions." . . . . . It was voted, that the President and Tutors have not power by any law to introduce or permit any person to instruct scholars in arts or languages in

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this Society; and therefore, the permission some time since given by them to Mr. Longloissorie to teach the French tongue is in itself void; and in as much as this Board judge it not consistent with the safety of the College, that the said Mr. Longloissorie should continue to teach the French Language there any longer, it was further voted, that the President and Tutors be directed to forbid the students, whether graduates or undergraduates, from attending on his instructions, either within the College walls or elsewhere.

'"Upon debate had on the second paragraph of this Report, the Board think it proper to assert and declare their right to examine into the principles of all those that are employed in the instruction of the students of the College, upon any just suspicion of their holding dangerous tenets, altho' no express charge be layed in against them; and that it be recommended to the Corporation to take due care as to the principles of such persons as shall from time to time be chosen by them into any office of instruction; and that no person chosen into such an office shall be accepted or continued who refuseth, when desired, to give satisfaction to this Board as to their principles in religion."'

Without entering into a discussion of the *right* asserted in this vote, we only make a passing remark upon the different state of feeling on this subject at the present day. In a late able defence of the University, by the Hon. F. C. Gray, against the charge of 'exclusiveness,' as it is now termed, it is made a substantive ground of vindication, that they have at this time instructers of the Catholic, as well as various other religious denominations.*

In a country like ours, where every man is at perfect liberty to enjoy, and to profess his own religious opinions, and where every one considers himself entitled to the benefit of our public seminaries of education, the particular department of religious instruction will occasion embarrassment. Under the usual organization of those establishments, Catholics cannot resort to Protestant Institutions, nor the reverse; nor those of the Jewish faith to either of them; because they cannot receive religious instruction according to their respective creeds; and therefore must, at least for the present, forego the advantage of being able to choose their place of education solely with a view to its literary and scientific character. There is an intrinsic difficulty in the case; which, however, is

* Letter of Hon. F. C. Gray, to His Excellency, Governor Lincoln.

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daily diminishing, as the different religious sects are beginning to establish colleges and seminaries for those of their own creed. But what the ultimate effect of this may be, and what is the best remedy for the existing difficulty, are subjects of the gravest consideration for our statesmen and others, who have in their charge the welfare of the country. For ourselves, we have no faith in the rash expedient adopted by President Jefferson in the Virginia University,—to have no professorship for religious instruction,*—nor have we more respect for the scheme of that public-spirited citizen, the late Mr. Girard,—however well intended, as we have no doubt it was,—that no ecclesiastic should have any control in the affairs, or the instruction, at his colossal seminary of education. Restrictions of this sort, in our apprehension, proceed from a very limited and partial view of this great subject; and, however plausible in theory, are not founded on those practical considerations, which cannot be overlooked by any statesman who would maintain, in its full action, the complex machine of human society. 'Sit igitur,' says Cicero, 'hoc ab initio persuasum civibus, dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores, deos; eaque, quæ gerantur, eorum vi, ditione ac numine; eosdemque optime de genere hominum mereri; et qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, quâ mente, quâ pietate colat religiones intueri; piorum et impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes haud sane abhorrebunt ab utili et a verâ sententiâ†.

We observe, in the early part of this History, the great surprise expressed by Mr. Hollis, about the year 1720, that there had been no professorship of Divinity established at the University. As intimately connected with the theological department, we may add, that although the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac languages were taught, yet, as Mr. Peirce observes, there does not appear to have been any person 'whose sole and appropriate business was to teach either of those languages,' before the year 1720. At that time, the well known Judah Monis, who is called by our author 'a Jewish Rabbi,' came from Italy, or the Barbary States, to America, and began to instruct in

* We have heard that this part of his plan has been since abandoned, and that the University now has a professor of Divinity; but we do not know whether this is the fact.

† Cic. de Legib. l. 2.

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Hebrew. Several interesting particulars are given of this celebrated Jewish teacher, who became a convert to Christianity in 1722, and held the office of Hebrew Instructer in Cambridge about forty years. Notwithstanding this advantage, of having a native teacher, the study of that language had begun to decline so long ago as the year 1755, when our author's venerable correspondent, Judge Wingate, was at college; for he states, that 'but a small portion of the scholars paid any attention to his (Monis's) instruction;' which state of things must have been growing worse and worse, during the next forty years; as one of the best scholars of his time, the late excellent Dr. Clarke, of Boston, in his interesting 'Letters to a Student,' published in 1796, speaks in emphatic language of the '*contempt*,' with which Hebrew has been treated at the University.'* It has been unfortunate for the Hebrew language, that it has been considered exclusively a study for theologians, and has not been thought at all important with a view to general philology. To the divine, indeed, it appears to be so indispensable, that it is marvellous to observe, that any interpreter of the Scriptures has the presumption to expound them without a competent knowledge of it; and,—if we may be allowed the comparison,—an American lawyer might, for example, as well pretend to make himself master of the French code without possessing any knowledge of the French language, as a theologian could of the divine law without a knowledge of the original text. But, with a view to general philology, the student's labors will find as rich a reward in the study of this ancient and curiously formed language, as in any one dialect of the tongues spoken by man. At the present day, since the establishment of the Theological School,—if we are correctly informed,—this study is again making some advances at the University.

It is worthy of notice, as mentioned by Mr. Peirce, that the Hebrew professorship, which was founded by the liberality of Thomas Hancock, was the first foundation of a professorship in New England 'by one of its sons.'†

But we find this subject is carrying us beyond our proper limits, and now return to some particulars more properly of an academic character.

The *first* Commencement was held on the second Tuesday

* Letter VIII. † P. 231.

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of August, 1642; only twenty years after the first settlers arrived on our shores. 'Upon this novel and auspicious occasion,' says Mr. Peirce, 'the venerable fathers of the land, the governor, magistrates and ministers from all parts, with others in great numbers, repaired to Cambridge, and attended with delight to refined displays of European learning, on a spot, which but just before was the abode of savages. It was a day, which on many accounts must have been singularly interesting.' The author has very properly added in his Appendix, 46, the *Theses* of that year, which will be read with interest by all graduates who are old enough to remember the time when we used also to have those 'Annuals.'

The ceremonial at the inauguration of the President and professors of the University, a century ago, will not be uninteresting. At the inauguration of President Wadsworth, in 1725, the following ceremonies took place, as stated in the records of the Overseers:

'Commencement Day, July 7, 1725.

'The Overseers and the Corporation went, in the usual form, to the meetinghouse, on the Commencement-day morning; where, after the morning prayer, made by Mr Coleman, Mr. President Wadsworth being in the pew with his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, His Honor was pleased to make the following speech to him:

'"Rev'd Sir,—You being duly elected and approved to be the President of Harvard College, I doe accordingly, in the name of the Overseers, invest you with the government thereof, in the same extent as any of your predecessors, Presidents of Harvard College, have been heretofore vested; and deliver to you the keys, with these books and papers, as badges of your authority; confiding, that you will govern the society with loyalty to our sovereign lord, King George, and obedience to his laws, and according to the Statutes and Rules of the said College."

'To which speech Mr. President Wadsworth returned the following answer:

'"I thankfully acknowledge the respect shewn mee by the reverend Corporation, especially by your Honor and the honored and reverend Overseers. I freely own myself unworthy of the honor, and unequal to the labours of the important office to which I am called. But I think the call of Providence (which I desire to eye in all things) is so loud and plain, that I dare not refuse it. I desire to have my whole dependence on the great God, my Saviour, for all the wisdom and grace needful for mee in this

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weighty service. I hope by His help I shall show all proper allegiance to our sovereign lord, King George, and obedience to his laws in this province, and endeavor to promote the same amongst all I shal be concerned with. I shal endeavor to take the best care I can of the College, directing and ordering the members and affairs of it according to the Constitution, Laws, and Statutes thereof. I desire the earnest prayers of God's people, that the God of all grace would make mee faithful and successful in the very great service I am called to."

'After which the President went up into the pulpit and called for the Salutatory Oration, and moderated one of the Batchelder's questions; and so the forenoon exercise ended.'

The formalities observed at the inauguration of a *professor*, at the same period, are given by the Editor in a note to p. 190; but we have not room to insert the account of them.

The valuable *Library* of the University naturally forms a prominent object in this work of its librarian; but not more so than its importance deserves. It is at all times difficult to make the public sensible of the great value of such an establishment, and especially so, to persuade them that a library of forty thousand volumes is not amply sufficient for all useful purposes. But every man, who has any acquaintance with the subject, knows, that a collection no larger than that, is wholly inadequate to the present wants of our literary and scientific men; to say nothing of the demands of our numerous artisans and practical men of every description. It is a truth which cannot, and ought not to be concealed, that the moment a man sits down to the investigation of details in almost any subject of science or literature with the aid of the University Library alone, his progress is soon arrested for the want of books. It would be illogical to argue a general deficiency from particular instances; but it is a curious fact, that three years ago there was no copy of *Kepler's* works in this valuable library. This deficiency, however, and innumerable others, have been since supplied. It is now thirty years since it was remarked by Fisher Ames, that Gibbon could not have written his history in this country for want of the necessary books which he had occasion to cite. The case is, indeed, much altered; the library at that time containing only fifteen or twenty thousand volumes, and now, about forty thousand. Yet this collection falls far short of the actual wants of the country. We say of *the country;* be-

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cause this library is an object of concern to our whole country, and we fervently hope the attention of the whole country will be directed to it. This library, as Mr. Peirce observes, has been 'almost entirely the fruit of *individual* munificence;'* a circumstance, which accounts for its deficiencies in certain departments of knowledge. Notwithstanding these deficiencies, however, it contains many treasures,—many works which could hardly be replaced at any price. We must refer our readers to the preface of Mr. Peirce's excellent catalogue, for many interesting particulars of those public-spirited individuals, who have rendered such lasting service to their country, by liberal donations to the University Library, independently of their munificence in other respects. Among these honored benefactors we find the names of Hollis, Hancock, Lee, Shapleigh, Palmer, and others, of past days; of Thorndike, Perkins, Eliot, Gore, Boylston, Adams, Dane, Sears, Hubbard, Brooks, and many others of our own time. If, however, as all competent judges agree, a good library, at the present day, ought to contain at least a hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand volumes, it is apparent, that much still remains to be done before ours will reach the proper standard. How this shall be effected is an important question. During the last winter a powerful appeal was made to the Legislature, by the present able Head of the University; but it was not attended with the desired success. Yet, we trust, it is not to be inferred from the result of that application, that the guardians of the Commonwealth have no disposition to afford any aid to this great public repository of knowledge. They must be fully sensible, that if New England is to retain any influence in the Union, it must be by realizing the force of the aphorism, that *Knowledge is Power;* and that an ample public library is as necessary to the obtaining of that power and to our enjoying the necessary facilities for making acquisitions in knowledge, and promoting its circulation, as an effective capital is to the successful acquisition and distribution of wealth throughout the community.†

We will only add, on this head, that our author has given an interesting account of the Library at different periods; and has very properly published at large the narrative of its des-

* Preface to his Catalogue, published in 1830.

† See Note, p. 404, post.

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truction by fire, on the 24th of January 1764. It will be recollected, that this calamitous event,—as it was then justly considered,—happened in consequence of the General Court's sitting in the Library, and having a fire made in it for their use; a circumstance which the benevolent Hollis could not avoid alluding to, in mild but significant language, when he afterwards contributed to repair the loss. He says, 'I am preparing, and going on with my mite to Harvard College, and lament the loss it has suffered exceedingly; *but hope a public library will no more be turned into a council room.*' *

The books presented by Mr. Hollis, besides being of great intrinsic value, were bound in a superior manner, and were adorned with various appropriate devices; of which we have the following anecdote in the Appendix to Mr. Peirce's History: 'Mr. Hollis employed Mr. Pingo to cut a number of emblematical devices, such as the *Caduceus of Mercury, the Wand of Esculapius, the Owl, the Cap of Liberty,* &c.; and these devices were to adorn the backs, and sometimes the sides of books. When patriotism animated a work, instead of unmeaning ornaments on the binding, he adorned with caps of liberty. When wisdom filled the page, the owl's majesty bespoke the contents. The caduceus pointed out the works of eloquence; and the wand of Esculapius was a signal of good medicines, &c.' †

We had intended to notice many other details respecting this ancient and venerable seat of learning, especially with a view to the course of studies pursued there formerly and at the present day; but we have already exceeded our original limits, and can add but a remark or two farther, in relation to the volume before us.

The historical narrative terminates with the year 1769, at the death of President Holyoke, whose administration lasted upwards of thirty years, and conferred honor upon the institution. The narrative is followed by the interesting Correspondence of Judge Wingate, to which we have before referred. To the whole is subjoined an *Appendix*, containing the Charters, Laws, Statutes of Professorships, Biographical Notice of Hollis, and various other details, which will be highly valued

* Hist. p. 296.

† P. 109, of Appendix. (Extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for 1781.)

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by every son of Harvard. The volume is also embellished with two very neat and appropriate Views of the University Buildings; one, representing them in their actual state; and the other, as they were at the period when only three had been erected,—Harvard, Stoughton, and Massachusetts.

We cannot take leave of this valuable work without congratulating the sons of our Alma Mater, that the author lived to record so many interesting and important facts in our academic history, as are here to be found; and that this has been performed by one, whose habits of accuracy, and whose candor and love of truth, as well as independence, enable us to place reliance on his statements. We may add, too, that amidst the rhetorical and showy mode of writing, which has so generally prevailed, it is no small satisfaction to find one example of a style, which is simple and pure English.

A continuation of the University history, down to a period as near to the present day as would be proper, is much to be desired; and we hope that this will be accomplished by some one of the sons of Harvard, whose affection for the place of his education and for his country shall be as strong and fervent, as that of the lamented author of the present work.*

* Since the above remarks on the University *Library* were written, the journals have given us an account of the Royal Library in Paris. It appears, that on the 1st of January 1833, it contained 1,985,000 volumes, including manuscripts, books of engravings and numismatical works. On the 1st of January 1834, it will contain at least 2,000,000 volumes, as every year, on an average, 20,000 new *works*, [not volumes] are deposited there. According to this statement, then, more books than the whole number contained in our University Library are added *every two years* to the Royal Library in Paris. Let those, whose duty it is to provide for the dissemination of knowledge in our Republic, reflect on this fact.

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ART. V.—*The Alps.*

1. *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps, by which Italy communicates with France, Switzerland, and Germany.* By WILLIAM BROCKEDON. 2 vols. 4to. London. 1828, 1829.
2. *Journals of Excursions in the Alps.* By WILLIAM BROCKEDON. 8vo. London. 1833.
3. *Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse.* Par M. L. G. EBEL. Nouvelle Edition. Paris. 1833.

To the readers of history, and of poetry, the Alps are a familiar name. From the days of the Romans, down to the present century, their inaccessible heights, eternal snows, and difficult and precipitous defiles, have given them a celebrity, hardly possessed by any other features of continental Europe. Placed as a natural barrier between nations frequently dissimilar, or hostile to each other, they have stood, abrupt, and impenetrable, as they were left by the deluge; and the little that man could do, in opening their avenues, or smoothing their passes, remained almost unattempted until the nineteenth century. But within the times of the present generation, and especially within the last five or six years, the aspect of these mountains has become less solitary and forbidding. Over nearly all the important defiles, smooth and spacious roads have been constructed, rocks have been penetrated, abysses have been spanned, terraces upon terraces have scaled the loftiest passes,—and the traveller who now rolls over them at his ease, secure of comfortable hotels, and regular relays of post-horses, troubles himself little about the difficulties, against which Hannibal urged his elephants, and Bonaparte dragged his artillery.

The mountainous country, usually denominated the Alpine region, covers a great portion of the continental territory of the king of Sardinia, the republic of Switzerland, and the Tyrolese dominions of Austria, together with portions of the immediately adjacent states. But the great or principal chain may be considered as forming a half oval, or crescent, having the valley of the Po in its centre, and the Gulf of Venice at its base. This chain commences in northern Italy, where it is continu-

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ous with the Appennines, and, skirting closely upon the Mediterranean along the Gulf of Genoa, turns to the north through Piedmont and Savoy, in which countries it throws up its loftiest eminences. It then passes easterly through Switzerland and the districts of Tyrol and Carniola, until it is merged in the less elevated ranges of eastern Europe. The geographical effect of this distribution is to separate the waters of the Po, from those of the Rhone, the Rhine and the Danube.

The most interesting features in the Alpine chain, are the depressions, or passable gaps, and the extreme elevations. The depressions, or notches in the summit of the ridge, furnish avenues, over which mankind, following the tracks of the chamois, have constructed mule paths, and afterwards roads practicable for carriages. These are seldom less than five thousand feet above the level of the ocean, and are mostly named from the mountains near which they pass, as the Simplon, the St. Gothard, and the Splugen. The great elevations are for the most part abrupt and towering peaks, many of which, from their sharpness and steep acclivities, have received the appellation of *horns* and *needles*. Among the most elevated peaks are Mont Blanc, Mont Cervin and Monte Rosa, situated in the chain which divides Piedmont from Savoy and Valais ;—the Finstraarhorn, the Schreckhorn (horn of terror), and the Jungfrau, in Switzerland ; and the Ortler-spitz in the Tyrol. The distinction of being the highest mountain in Europe has been lately contested between Mont Blanc and Monte Rosa. Since the observations of De Saussure, no doubt had been entertained that Mont Blanc was entitled to this precedence. But in 1819 one of the inferior summits of Monte Rosa was ascended by Messrs. Zumstein and Vincent, who took trigonometrical observations of the higher peaks, and arrived at the conclusion that these inaccessible summits were more elevated than the top of Mont Blanc, by some hundreds of feet. Their account, published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Turin, immediately drew towards Monte Rosa the attention of the scientific and travelling public, new admeasurements were undertaken, and from an elaborate topographical account and survey of this mountain by Baron Welden, published at Vienna in 1824, it would appear that the altitude of the two eminences is nearly equal, Mont Blanc, however, having the precedence by about eighty-eight toises.*

* The probable height of Mont Blanc is about 14,764 Paris feet.

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Mont Blanc derives its name, though not a distinctive one, from its mass of perpetual snows,—Monte Rosa from the circular distribution of its peaks, which enclose a central valley or amphitheatre. Mont Blanc has been repeatedly ascended, though with great danger and difficulty, by adventurous travellers; but the upper summits of Monte Rosa, though often attempted, have never yet, we believe, been attained.

On the tops of the loftiest mountains water rests like a mineral substance from age to age, fixed in the form of consolidated ice and snow. Immense masses, which gather upon these heights in winter, seek afterwards a lower level, in obedience to the laws of nature. This fluctuation, the result of necessary influences, gives birth to scenes of unequalled sublimity and beauty, and actuates, as it were, the moving scenery of the Alps. The cascade, the torrent, the progressive glacier, and the overwhelming avalanche, are but the shiftings, by which a disturbed element seeks to resume its wonted equilibrium.

The traveller, passing in summer through the valleys of the Alpine regions, sees often before him what appears to be a white thread, suspended from the mountain side. This he knows to be a waterfall, but if he has seen Niagara, or even Terni, he will be struck with the great length of the cascade, perhaps five or six hundred feet, compared with the slender dimensions of the stream which constitutes it. These cascades generally reach the ground by successive leaps, but now and then a case occurs, in which the fall is unbroken, and the apparent slowness, the effect of distance, with which the air is traversed by the descending waves and volumes of spray, gives to the spectator the idea of something which floats, rather than falls. We recollect to have seen instances, in which a considerable stream jetting from the top of a precipice, was dissolved in spray, and wholly lost to the sight, before it had accomplished half its destined descent. A brook, starting from beneath and fed by the perpetual shower, gave evidence that the material of this beautiful illusion was not lost. A fall of this kind, singularly picturesque, is seen in the vale of Misocco, on the southern side of the Bernardino passage. The celebrated fall of Staubbach, in Lauterbrunnen, nine hundred feet in height, is of the same description.

That of Monte Rosa 14,222. See an account of the latter mountain in Brewster's Edinburgh Journal of Science, Vols. I and II. As the upper stratum of these mountains consists of snow, it is very probable that their height varies in different seasons.

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The long valleys which separate the mountainous spurs, usually afford beds for torrents, constituting the head waters, from which are accumulated the great rivers of Europe. These frequently occupy the bottoms of deep ravines, and when swollen with rains, or melted snows, exhibit a scene of obstructed, yet irresistible violence, which impresses the spectator with the deepest awe. On the principal roads, these are crossed by bridges of substantial masonry, in constructing which, it seems often wonderful how the workmen could have found support. In some cases, we are told, it was found necessary to suspend stagings upon cords from precipices far above them. In the wilder and less frequented paths, frail wooden bridges, and sometimes trunks of fallen trees, constitute the means of passing. It has happened that, in cases of emergency, both men and animals have crossed these torrents, even without the aid of bridges, and in the face of difficulties seemingly insurmountable. In 1800, a detachment of French troops under General Bethencourt, was ordered to occupy the pass of Yéselles, and proceed upon Domo d' Ossola. Their march was interrupted by the destruction of a bridge which led round a precipice, and over an abyss sixty feet in width. A volunteer, at great hazard of his life, by supporting himself against the sides of the precipice, in the holes cut for the timbers, succeeded in carrying a rope to the opposite side. Upon this rope, suspended over the abyss, with their feet braced against the lateral wall, or such other objects as might present, the whole detachment passed, one by one, the commander setting the first example. The names of the officers are now engraved upon the rock. When the last man had left the bank, five dogs, which belonged to the party, threw themselves into the current. Three of them were carried down, while the others, by dint of greater strength, succeeded in gaining the opposite side, and crouched, half dead, at the feet of their masters.

The *Lavanges* or Avalanches take place whenever the mass of snow accumulated on the heights, becomes, either from its own weight, or the insufficiency of its base, incapable of supporting itself. The avalanches of different seasons are not equally dangerous. Those of summer are confined to the highest mountains, and seldom reach the places frequented by mankind. Those of winter also, though sometimes terrible in their effects, yet being often composed of the light and new-

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fallen snow, slide downwards in smaller masses, and with less violence, so that men and beasts have been dug out unharmed from beneath them. But the avalanches of spring, which take place after the sun has begun to loosen the hold by which projecting masses are detained on the brink of precipitous summits, are by far the most dangerous and destructive. Imagination can hardly conceive the fearful sublimity, and havoc, with which these descents are attended. Columns of consolidated snow, whose extent the eye can hardly span, sweeping downwards for mile after mile, bearing with them the loosened rocks and uprooted forests, and discharging themselves at length on the valleys below with a violence under which the earth trembles,—are the common and yearly phenomena of these romantic regions. A fallen avalanche, says Ebel, sometimes covers more than a league of country. The concussion of the atmosphere is so great, that houses have been overthrown, and men prostrated, at a distance from the scene of devastation. At the season of avalanches, when the impending masses are just ready to loose their hold, the inhabitants believe that the smallest noise, or shock given to the atmosphere, may start them into motion. Hence, in many places, they take off the bells from their horses and cattle, and steal silently through the dangerous paths, choosing the early part of the day, before the sun has begun to act with power. It is also common to discharge a musket, by way of proof, before entering the suspected defiles.

As in other mountainous countries, not only the snow, but sometimes the earth itself, is loosened, and slides downward, carrying desolation in its progress. A remarkable slide of this kind occurred at the village of Goldau, in 1806, and has been feelingly described by one of our own countrymen.* In September, after a long continuance of rain, one of the summits of the Rossberg, was detached from the mountain and fell into the valley and lake beneath, overwhelming the villages of Goldau, Boussingen, and Rothen. The houses, cattle and nearly five hundred of the inhabitants, were destroyed by this event. Some travellers from Berne, says Simond, arrived at Art, and set off on foot for the Rhigi, a few minutes before this catastrophe. A part, who were behind the rest, observed that some strange commotion was taking place on the summit of the

* Rev. J. S. Buckminster.

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Rossberg,—and immediately a flight of stones like cannon balls, traversed the air above their heads; a cloud of dust obscured the valley; a frightful noise was heard, and they fled. As soon as the obscurity was so far dissipated, as to make objects discernible, they sought their friends who had preceded them, but the village of Goldau had disappeared under a heap of stones and rubbish one hundred feet in height, and the whole valley presented nothing but a perfect chaos. Nothing is left of Goldau, but the bell, which hung in its steeple, and which was found about a mile off. About fourteen miserable objects were dug out alive, from beneath the ruins.

The vestiges of catastrophes, similar to the above, are seen in various parts of Switzerland. At the entrance of the Val Blegno, not far above Belinzonna, may be seen the vast *debris* of a mountain, which fell across this valley in the year 1512. The fallen mass arrested the course of the river Blegno, and formed a large lake, which continued above two hundred years; but which in 1714 burst a passage, and swept its way, with great destruction of lives and property, into the Lago Maggiore.

The name of Glaciers, in its broadest sense, has been applied to all accumulations of ice and snow, which remain through the year upon elevated mountains. In its more limited meaning, it is restricted to those masses of hardened snow, which occupy the higher valleys and northern sides of ridges, extending downward to the borders of vegetation. They are generally found in the valleys and chasms, which run from east to west, in which they are more protected from the rays of the sun. Those of them, which have much inclination, exhibit a diversified surface, which has been compared to the waves of the sea during a storm. The alternate thawing and freezing of a portion of the snow, give to the remainder, among which it percolates, a degree of density approaching that of solid ice. Otherwise, the appearance of these glaciers may be compared, *parvis componere magna*, to that of the snow drifts of New England, after the sun has acted on them long enough to diminish half their height, and thus to bring out the dust and rubbish upon their surface. The depth of the glaciers is supposed to be from one to six hundred feet and upwards. Vast crevices and chasms intersect the entire mass, opposing serious impediments in the way of adventurers who traverse them, and exhibiting the interior ice of a dark blue appearance to the

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eye. It usually happens, that in the lowest glaciers, the heat of the earth, especially during summer, dissolves the ice at the bottom, giving rise to extensive vaults, from beneath which streams of water issue. A striking instance of this kind is seen in the source of the Arveiron, which takes its rise under the Mer de Glace, in the neighborhood of Chamouni. Some of these vaults have been found a hundred feet in height, and sufficiently extensive to undermine portions of the glacier, which settle down upon them with tremendous noise. Where there is sufficient declivity the glacier advances, during these changes, toward the subjacent valley, and thus appears to extend itself by a sort of natural growth. When Sir J. E. Smith visited the Montanvert in 1787, the Arveiron derived its source from several cascades, which fell from the top of the glacier, a sufficient evidence that it had then settled so as to obliterate the cavities underneath. Rocks of large size are occasionally carried along on the surface of the glacier, serving as landmarks, to measure the progress of the whole mass. Others are accumulated in high ridges along the borders of the ice, constituting what are called *moraines*. Ebel computes that from Mont Blanc to the Tyrol, the number of glaciers is not less than 400, many of which are six or seven leagues in length. It is not to be understood that the uniform tendency of these bodies is to extend themselves. During warm seasons they sometimes diminish in a very rapid manner, by the melting of their lower extremity.

Previously to the year 1800, and even at a later period, most travellers who entered Italy from the north, were obliged to cross the Alps by mule paths, never convenient, and sometimes extremely difficult. The transportation of merchandise, and especially of warlike stores and artillery, was an undertaking of the most arduous character, of which the passage of the Grand St. Bernard by the French invading army in 1800, is a well known example. After the conquest of the Italian states, the enterprise of Napoleon Bonaparte planned and executed two great military roads, practicable for carriages and artillery, one extending from Geneva to Milan, across the Simplon; and the other leading over the pass of Mont Cenis, and opening a communication from Lyons to Turin. These roads, it is but small praise to say, impress every traveller with astonishment, and are monuments of consummate skill in the engineers, who seem to have brought Herculean powers to

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subdue what nature had intended to be insurmountable. In the Strada Sempione at Milan, a triumphal arch was begun by Napoleon, at the termination of the Simplon road, to commemorate the completion of his stupendous enterprise. It is of white marble, and is ornamented with bas reliefs representing the victories and treaties of the Emperor. After his fall, this structure, one of the largest and most beautiful of its kind, was suffered to remain unfinished, and was even threatened with dilapidation. Travellers who arrived from the mountains, fresh in their admiration, were accustomed to vent their displeasure upon the penurious jealousy of the Austrian Government, which neglected to complete this monument, covered as it was with the testimonies of their own humiliation. But Napoleon is now a dead lion, the Austrians have resumed the work, and when we saw it last year, the structure was nearly completed. Unfortunately, however, for the objects of the founder, they have not been content to complete the structure, but have likewise gone on to complete the history. The tablets beneath, which represent the battle of Marengo and the humiliating treaties which followed, are allowed to remain unharmed; but they are surmounted with others of equal execution, setting forth the battle of Waterloo and the abdication of Bonaparte. The triumphal chariot, and bronze horses, which were to support the statue of Napoleon upon the top, will be occupied by an allegorical figure representing Peace. This is consonant to justice, and historical truth. For every road which Napoleon made over the Alps, Peace has since caused the completion of three times the number, all equally deserving the wonder and gratitude of the public. The traveller, at his ease, may now ride into Italy from any point between Marseilles and Vienna. Broad highways are completed, over the Cornice, the Col de Tende, the Genévre, the Bernardino, the Splugen, the Brenner and the Stelvio. Last summer the St. Gothard was opened for carriages, and a road over the Maloya was nearly finished. Upon most of these, the yearly influx of travellers to Italy has justified the establishment of regular post houses.

To Napoleon is due the credit of having set the example, and proved the usefulness of these great avenues. But nineteen years of peace, which have followed his dethronement, while they have indefinitely increased the amount of communication between Italy and other countries, have at the same

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time afforded to the governments concerned, the leisure and means requisite for multiplying these works of public utility.*

The Alpine highways resemble each other in their great features, and are among the proudest constructions of art. They would almost impress us with the belief, that nothing is impracticable to ingenuity and labor. These roads usually pursue the course of streams, or valleys, gaining a higher level on their sides, as occasion offers, and at length climbing the principal ridge by what are called *tourniquets*, a succession of terraces connected at their ends alternately in a serpentine manner. Their course often lies along the sides of precipices, jutting out over fearful depths, or crossing torrents and ravines upon bridges of giddy height. Sometimes it appears as if the road had come to an end, against an insuperable steep, or projecting spur of the mountain. But here the skill of the engineer eludes the difficulty, sometimes by throwing a bridge through the air, to the opposite side, and sometimes by entering the rock itself with a subterranean gallery. In places particularly exposed to avalanches, the road either buries itself in the rock, or is protected by massive stone arches, forming covered ways, over the passages exposed. Much injury, still, is done, every year, to these roads by the descents of snow and of water, and they are kept in repair at great expense, by the governments to which they respectively belong.

The highest of the passes over which a carriage road has been constructed, is that of the Monte Stelvio, on the route from Botzen to Milan. It was made by the Emperor of Austria, since 1814, to establish a communication with the Milanese, without quitting his own territory. The summit ridge, which it crosses, is more than nine thousand feet above the level of the sea, and seven hundred above the estimated line of perpetual snow, in its latitude. This great elevation rendered it one of the most arduous roads in its formation, as it is one of the most difficult to keep in repair. It was found necessary to construct from two to three thousand feet of galleries or covered ways, to shelter the road from avalanches and falling rocks, which sweep over it in certain places. On this road, says Mr. Brockedon, 'shortly after leaving Prad, the magnifi-

* We believe that the passage of the Col de Tende, which leads from Nice to Turin, also that of the Brenner, from Inspruck to Verona, were practicable for carriages of some sort, before Napoleon's time.

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cent mountain of the Ortler-spitz opens suddenly on the view of the traveller, with a vast and appalling effect, as it is seen from its extreme summit to its base, robed in everlasting snows, which descend on its sides in enormous glaciers, and stream into the valley below. Immense masses of rock, in themselves mountains, throw out their black and scathed forms, in striking contrast with the brightness of the glaciers which they separate.' This part of the route, or rather the whole ascent from Drofoi, the author considers 'without a parallel in Alpine scenery.'

The passage of the Brenner, leading from Inspruck to the Lago di Guarda and Verona, is the lowest which crosses the great chain of Alps, being only 4700 feet above the level of the sea. It is also one of the oldest of these roads. A dark, narrow valley between Sterzing and Mittenwald, is famous for having been the place of a successful resistance of the Tyrolese, under Andrew Hofer, against the French and Bavarian army in 1809. Great numbers of the latter were destroyed by stones rolled down upon them from the heights, which overhang the defile.

The pass of the Splugen, leading from Coire, the capital of the Grisons, to Lake Como, is said, in Starke's Guide book, to 'surpass in magnificent, sublime and awful scenery, every other carriage road in Europe.' We know not how far this exclusive praise may be just, but we are certain, from ocular conviction, that a portion of this road, called the Via mala, extending several miles between the villages of Andeer and Tusis, richly merits all the terrific encomiums it has received. It is the deep and narrow gorge through which the Hinter Rhine makes its escape from the mountains, between mural precipices a thousand feet in height, and just far enough asunder, for about four miles, to furnish a scanty bed to the torrent. How the Romans made their way through this chasm, into Rhætia, or the barbarians afterwards broke through the same track into Italy, no one at the present day can imagine; except by supposing them to have diverged to the neighboring mountains; for the sides of the chasm are perpendicular rock, and the bottom is monopolized in a most unqualified manner, by the furious and turbulent Rhine. The modern road is a shelf, or notch, formed about midway in the precipice, and several times disappearing within the rock, for many rods together. A bridge crosses the chasm, at such a height, that the Rhine,

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always chafed and foaming, looks, from it, like a white cord, in the perpendicular distance; and a large stone, dropped from the parapet, seems floating for several seconds in the air, and when it strikes the water, a loud explosion is sent upward. In November and December, 1800, a French army of reserve, under Macdonald, crossed the Splugen, enduring the horrors and hardships of an Alpine winter, being arrested by the obliteration of the path, and losing many men and horses, by the avalanches. The sufferings of this passage are recorded by Count Philip de Segur, a well known historian of military disasters.

On the north side of the ridge of Splugen, and near the village of the same name, a road diverges through the valley of the Rheinwald, and crossing Mount Bernardino, follows the course of the Moesa till it joins the Ticino, and the road from St. Gothard. It then continues to the Lago Maggiore and a branch of it to the Lugano. On the principal lakes there are now established steamboats, which ply daily between the extremities of these waters. We observed, that they generally bear the classical names of the lakes which they traverse, as Il Lario, Il Verbano, Le Leman, &c. The scenery afforded by the passage through Lakes Como and Maggiore is exquisitely picturesque.

Persons going from central Switzerland by Altorf to the Lake Maggiore, may now cross in carriages the pass of St. Gothard, celebrated alike for its romantic scenery, and its military history. The name of Suvaroff is engraved on a rock, near the desolate summit, at a place where that commander obtained a victory over the French in 1799. The celebrated Devil's Bridge, over the torrent of the Reuss, is a single arch of seventy feet span, thrown across a rushing cataract, at the height of a hundred feet above the water. 'It is impossible,' says Mr. Brockedon, 'to think of such a structure, in such a situation, without shuddering at the idea of the danger to which those who built it must have been exposed.' Yet this bridge has more than once been the scene of conflicts between the French and Imperialists, in the campaign of 1799; and once during the heat of an engagement, while the French under Lecourbe were in the act of charging the Austrians, thirty feet of the bridge separated and fell from the parapets, precipitating all who were upon it into the gulf below.

The fame of the route of the Simplon has reached all per-

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sons, who have interested themselves about the Alps, or Napoleon Bonaparte. It has been customary for most travellers to take this road either in going into Italy, or in returning from it, thus gaining a direct conveyance between Geneva and Milan. Considered as a work of art, the Simplon road probably exceeds all the others, in the neatness and architectural finish of its parapets and bridges; and it is exceeded by none in the magnitude of the difficulties overcome by the French and Italian engineers employed in its construction. The great gallery near Gondo is 596 feet long, and is cut through solid granite. Its southern extremity, where a bridge crosses the waterfall of Frassinone, at the entrance of an impassable gorge, is almost unequalled in picturesque and imposing effect. The Gallery has lateral openings to admit the light, opposite to one of which, the following inscription is cut in the rock,—ÆRE ITALO 1805. The part of the road which is on the Swiss side of the Simplon, was completed by French engineers; but the southern half, which is by far the most difficult, was executed by Italian artificers, under the Chevalier Fabbroni, at the expense of the Italian States.

The valley through which this road passes, extending through the Canton of Valais to the Pays de Vaud, is enclosed by a rampart of the highest mountains in Europe, having the peaks of Piedmont on one side, and the Bernese Alps on the other, some of which rise more than 10,000 feet above it. It has been considered as the deepest valley in the known world. Aware of this circumstance, the traveller receives, from the scenery around him, impressions of sublimity, such as belong only to the presence of natural objects, which are known to be unequalled in their kind. They are emotions like those which may be inspired by the River Mississippi, Lake Superior, or the Cataract of Niagara. Beyond the immediate effect on the senses, there is a deep and commanding interest, a pervading solemnity, which call on us to pay homage, to what has never been outdone. But in this valley the beautiful also mingles with the sublime, and the solitudes which shelter in its infant growth, one of the most rapid and turbulent of rivers, have gathered round it the elements of fitness, which convey to the mind ideas of a recess and sanctuary of nature.

'Tis lone,
And wonderful and deep, and hath a sound

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And sense and sight of sweetness. Here the Rhone
Hath spread himself a couch,—the Alps have reared a throne.'

The pass of Mount Cenis, already mentioned, and that of Mount Genévre, made by Napoleon between Grenoble and Turin, are carriage roads, possessing features of the same general kind with those which have been described. But the Cornice, or Mediterranean road, is essentially different from the rest, being not so much a pass of the Alps, as it is a passage by which the Alps are avoided. It is true that the Maritime Alps here come down to the sea so abruptly, as to leave no room for a level passage between the mountains and the water. Nevertheless an excellent road is now constructed, which no where rises to a great height, and by which invalids travel to Nice and to Italy, at all seasons of the year. The Mediterranean way was known to the ancients, and it was by this pass, says Mr. Brockedon, that Julius Cæsar penetrated into Italy when about to engage in his contest with Pompey. This road presents, from many of its eminences, splendid views of the sea beneath, while, on the other hand, it is distinctly seen along the coast, from the steamboats, which ply between Marseilles and Genoa.

It will be observed that the roads which have been made practicable for carriages, are principally large thoroughfares, by which intercourse is carried on between Italy and the adjacent states. But a vast number of mountain passes, in less frequented directions, are still traversed only by pedestrians and mules; or in some cases by a low, narrow carriage, called a *char à banc.* Of this kind are the various avenues to the vale of Chamouni, the fearful pass of Gemmi near the baths of Lenk, the defiles of the Grimsel and Gries which approach the sources of the Rhone, the various paths by which the Oberland is traversed, numerous tracks which lead up the sides of mountains, among which should not be forgotten the Wingernalp, beautifully described by Simond, from which the traveller at midsummer, witnesses in safety the hourly fall of avalanches from the opposite side of the Jungfran.

The passes of the Great and the Little St. Bernard are interesting from their proximity to Mont Blanc, lying on opposite sides of it; also from their scenery and historical associations. The former is well known for the Hospice, situated near its summit, inhabited by a benevolent order of monks, whose business is to rescue and relieve distressed travellers.

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It may seem singular that neither of these long and well known passages, has yet been made the site of a carriage road. But the king of Sardinia has shown himself less fond of public improvements of this kind, than his more communicative neighbors.

A controversy has been agitated with some zeal, in regard to the particular pass by which Hannibal crossed the Alps with his Carthaginian army. Different speculators, who have endeavored to trace his track, by the histories of Livy and Polybius, have assigned the Monte Viso, the Genévre, and the Mont Cenis, as corresponding in their situation and character to the route he is said to have pursued. In a work entitled 'a Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps, by a member of the University of Oxford,' the author, after an elaborate investigation of the subject, decides on the Little St. Bernard, as the true route of the Carthaginian army. Mr. Brockedon adopts the same opinion, having carefully examined the features of this pass, in reference to the historical data which have reached us. Hannibal, it seems, on his arrival from Spain, crossed the Rhone, probably somewhere near Avignon, and ascended that river above its confluence with the Isaure. He afterwards passed eastwardly towards the mountains, encountering the Allobroges and other warlike tribes on his way. It is to be regretted that the names of places are not marked with sufficient distinctness by Polybius, the historian who is chiefly relied on in this matter. But that our readers may have a specimen of the mode of passing the Alps in those days, we subjoin his account of this celebrated march.

'The barbarians,' says this historian, 'brought their hostages; supplied the army liberally with cattle; and gave themselves up to the Carthaginians with so little reserve or caution, that Hannibal was in a great degree induced to throw away all suspicion; and even intrusted them with the charge of leading the army through the rest of the defiles. But when the Carthaginians, after two days march under the conduct of these guides, were now engaged in passing through a valley, that was surrounded on every side by steep and insuperable precipices, suddenly this treacherous people appeared behind them in great numbers, and fell with fury on the rear. In this situation, the whole army must inevitably have been destroyed, if Hannibal, who still retained some little doubt of their sincerity, had not placed, by a

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wise precaution, the baggage, with the cavalry, at the head of all the march, and the heavy infantry behind. These troops sustained the attack, and in part repelled the impending ruin. The loss, however, was very great, both of men, and horses, and beasts of burthen. For the barbarians, advancing still along the summit of the mountains, as the Carthaginians continued their march through the valley, both by flinging stones, and rolling down fragments of the rocks upon them, spread so great terror and disorder through the army, that Hannibal was forced to take his station for the night upon a naked and desert rock, to secure the cavalry and baggage, till they had all passed the valley; and this was at last accomplished. But such was the roughness and the difficulty of these defiles, that the whole night was scarcely sufficient for the work.

'On the following day, the enemy being now retired, the Carthaginian General joined the cavalry, and continued his march towards the summit of the Alps. From this time, the barbarians never came to attack him in any very numerous body. But some straggling parties of them, appearing from time to time in different places, and falling, as occasion served, sometimes upon the foremost troops, and sometimes on the rear, gave frequent interruption to his march, and carried away a part of the baggage. The elephants were chiefly serviceable upon these occasions. For on which side soever they advanced, the enemy were struck with terror at the sight, and never ventured to approach. On the ninth day, having gained at last the summit of the mountains, he there fixed his camp, and rested during two whole days: that he might give some ease and refreshment to the troops, that had performed their march in safety; and that the others might also join him, who had not yet arrived. During this time, many of the wounded horses, and of the beasts that had thrown their burden in the late disorders of the march, having followed the traces of the army, arrived safely in the camp.

'It was now near the time of winter. The mountains were already covered deep with snow; and the whole army seemed to be under the greatest dejection and dismay: being not only exhausted by the miseries which they had suffered, but disheartened also by the view of those that were yet to come, and Hannibal, therefore had recourse to the only expedient that remained, to raise their drooping courage. He assembled the troops together; and from the summit of the Alps, which, considered with regard to Italy, appear to stand as the citadel of all the country, pointed to their view the plains beneath that were watered by the Po; and reminded them of the favorable disposition of the Gauls towards them. He showed them also the very

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ground, upon which Rome itself was situated. By this prospect, they were in some degree recovered from their fears. On the morrow therefore, they decamped, and began to descend the mountains. There was now no enemy that opposed their passage; except some lurking parties only, which sometimes fell upon them by surprise for the sake of plunder. But by reason of the snows, and the badness of the ground, their loss was not much inferior to that which they had suffered in the ascent. For the way was not only very steep and narrow, but so entirely covered also by the snow, that the feet knew not where to tread in safety. And as often as they turned aside from the proper track, they were instantly hurried down some precipice. Yet the soldiers, to whom such accidents were now become familiar, sustained all this misery with an amazing firmness. At last they came to a place, which neither the elephants, nor the beasts of burden, could in any manner pass; for the ground, which was before extremely steep and broken, to the length of a stadium and a half, had again very lately fallen away, and left the road so narrow, that it was quite impracticable. At this sight, the troops again were seized with consternation; and even began to lose all the hopes of safety. Hannibal at first endeavored to avoid this route, by changing the direction of his march, and making a circuit round it. But he soon was forced to desist from that design; for the way on every side was utterly insuperable, through an accident of a singular kind, which is peculiar to the Alps. The snows of the former year, having remained unmelted upon the mountains, were now covered over by those that had fallen in the present winter. The latter, being soft, and of no great depth, gave an easy admission to the feet. But when these were trodden through, and the soldiers began to touch the snows that lay beneath, which were now become so firm that they would yield to no impression, their feet both fell at once from under them, as if they had been walking upon the edge of some high and slippery precipices. And this mischance drew after it a still worse accident. For when they struggled with their hands and knees to recover themselves from their fall, as the ground was everywhere extremely steep, they were then sure to slide away with greater violence and rapidity than before; carrying likewise with them whatever they had grasped for their support. The beasts also, that were loaded with the baggage, having, by their endeavors to rise again when they had fallen, broken the surface of the lower snow, remained closely wedged in the pits which they had made; and by the weight of the burthens under which they lay, as well as from the unyielding firmness of the snows around them, were fixed immovably in the place.

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'When this attempt was thus found to be impracticable, Hannibal returned again to the narrow road which he had quitted; and having removed the snow, he encamped at the entrance of it, and ordered the soldiers to make a firm and level way along the precipice itself. And this, with the expense of vast pains and labor, was at last effected: so that in one day's time, there was sufficient room for the horses and the beasts of burden to descend. These were immediately conducted down; and having gained the plains, were sent away to pasture, in places where no snow had fallen. The Numidians were then commanded to enlarge the road, that the elephants might also pass. But so laborious was the task, that though fresh men still succeeded to those that were fatigued, it was not without great difficulty that they completed it, in three days' continued toil: after which, these beasts came down the mountain; being almost exhausted and spent with famine. For the tops of the Alps, which are covered through all seasons with perpetual snows, produce neither tree nor pasture; though the middle parts on both sides of them abound with woods and forests, and are proper to be cultivated. Hannibal then descended last, with all the army; and thus on the third day gained the plains; having lost great numbers of his soldiers in the march, as well in passing rivers, as in the engagements which he was forced to sustain. Many of his men had also perished among the precipices of the Alps: and a far greater number of the horses, and beasts of burden. And having thus at last completed his journey from New Carthage, in five months time; fifteen days of which were employed in passing over the Alps; he now boldly entered the territory of the Insubrians, and the plains that are watered by the Po: though the whole of his infantry, that was left, amounted to no more than twelve thousand Africans, and eight thousand Spaniards; and his cavalry, to six thousand only: as we learn from an account, that was engraven by his orders on a column near Lacinium.

'The Carthaginian General, having now entered Italy with the forces which we have already particularly mentioned, at first encamped at the bottom of the Alps, that he might give some ease and refreshment to his troops. Indeed the present condition of his army was miserable almost beyond expression. For besides the hardships which they had sustained from the difficulties of the way, both in ascending and descending the mountains, the want of such provisions as were necessary, and the diseases also which their bodies had contracted from neglect and filth, had changed them into spectacles of horror: while the greater part seemed voluntarily to sink beneath their sufferings, and even to reject all thoughts both of life and safety. For in a

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march so long and difficult, it was utterly impossible to bring with them such supplies, as might fully satisfy the wants of so numerous an army; and even those which they had brought were almost all lost among the precipices, with the beasts that carried them. This army, therefore, which, when it passed the Rhone, consisted of thirty-eight thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, was now reduced to less than half that number. The rest had perished among the mountains. And those that were left alive, were so much worn and altered by continued sufferings, that their appearance was scarcely human.'—*Lib.* III. *Cap.* V. VI.

Such was the condition of the Carthaginian army, at the time immediately preceding the commencement of their conquests. The preparatory training, which has just been described, seems to have endowed them with the qualities of wolves, rather than of men, and thus to have enabled them to subdue the veteran armies of Rome in repeated battles, to overrun a great part of Italy, and to keep their foothold in that country for sixteen years.

We ought not to quit the subject of the Alps, without pausing long enough to pay due homage to the modern exploit, which has been repeatedly performed, of ascending some of the high mountains, and particularly Mont Blanc, to the summit. This journey has now been achieved by about a score of individuals, of whom a great part are English, and two Americans, and whose names may be seen posted at some of the inns on the road to Chamouni. The enterprize is one of great danger and hardship, and since the small scientific harvest, which it affords, has been reaped to the gleanings, by De Saussure, the only reward, which the adventurer now obtains, is the satisfaction of breathing 'the cold, thin atmosphere,' of the highest point in Europe, at the expense of inflamed eyes and frozen extremities, the result of successive nights passed upon icy rocks, or snows, in a highly rarefied air. De Saussure's narrative is familiar to scientific readers, and that of our countrymen, Van Rensellaer and Howard, will be read with interest in the second volume of Prof. Silliman's Journal.

With the inhabitants of the Alpine country, with Savoyards, Swiss, and Tyrolese,—the book-reading, as well as the song-singing portions of the community are already well acquainted. Their simple, hardy and adventurous character, and frugal mode of life, have many charms for distant ears; and the inflexible

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spirit with which they have maintained their independence, is deserving of all praise. Nevertheless, a Swiss cottage is not a paradise in which one would wish to spend years, at least if we take as evidence the following picture of Mr. Brockedon, delineating the success of an attempt at a second night's sleep, after having failed in a first.

'I returned to my poor woman's hut, and regretted that I had left it, as I should at least have been drier there than in the one,—I cannot say I either slept or sheltered in. For my breakfast, I drank some excellent milk, and ate a portion of a small loaf which I had brought with me from Val Tournanche. Mid-day arrived with little alteration of weather: the snow had changed to rain only. I occasionally crawled out of an opening, nick-named a door, four feet high, which I was always obliged to re-enter backwards, because it opened against the slope of the mountain. The snow was now rapidly melting in the valley, but the mountains had had their wigs newly trimmed, as if the dressing were to serve a week. The guide again made his appearance, to say that the mules remained at Val Tournanche, and that to-morrow being Sunday they would not be allowed to travel; they would therefore remain till Monday, and I must rest contented, if possible, at least another night. The day passed drearily. I helped to boil the polenta,—milk and water, into which the flour of Indian corn was stirred; and the whole seasoned with salt. If I had not seen it prepared, I should have eaten some; but at the time my disgust exceeded my appetite. It was very cold; yet we were obliged to economise the fuel, as we had very little within the *châlet;* and the small stock of rhododendron, the only shrub at this elevation that supplies the fire, was soaked by the weather, which came on too suddenly, and at this early season too unexpectedly, to have induced the precaution of keeping a larger stock within. My poor and kind hostess frequently came to me, to know what I would have to eat, as if she had a choice of food. She procured for me during the day, three eggs; except these she had nothing to give but milk and curds, and bread baked once a year; at Michaelmas; and baking day was nearly come round again. It was miserably cold: stamping my feet and slapping my hands, were the only means of warming them, for the fire was too scanty. The melted snow ran into the hut, and formed pools. To pass the time, I assisted in butter-making, rocking the youngest child to sleep, and writing letters to England; my eyes smarted with the smoke of the wet shrub-wood, which I tried in vain to blow into a blaze. By way of a little variety, I was indulged with the squalls and disputations of the noisy children.

'I prepared for my second night's rest by placing the high end

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of a form, with only two legs remaining, against another large stool which was generally used for a table. The lower end of my couch came as near the ashes of the hearth as with safety it could be put. Upon these a bundle of hay was thrown, and made a comfortable bed enough. Here I should have slept well, but a boisterous and overjoyed assembly of fleas prevented it: those of this hovel having, as I am conceited enough to fancy, given a grand entertainment, in honor of my coming, to the fleas of the other *châlets;* and I verily believe not one refused the invitation. I of course was served up; and to judge of what remained of me, I think the rascals had *goût* enough to relish my being half smoked.'

Mr. Brockedon is a believer in the history of William Tell, and in the truth of the principal traditions concerning him, especially that of shooting the apple from his son's head. He founds his belief partly upon the antiquity of these traditions, and the fact that the arrow and apple are used as national emblems, and are engraved on rocks in different parts of Switzerland. He also finds stronger evidence of the truth of the event in the chapel of the Tellen platte, the rock at the foot of the Achsenberg, upon which Tell in the storm, is said to have leaped, when he escaped from the boat of Gesler. 'Only thirty years after Tell's death, which happened in the year 1358, this chapel was built to commemorate the event of his escape, and a series of pictures in fresco, upon the walls, represent the principal events of his life. Shooting at the apple on his son's head is one of this series. In the year of the completion of this chapel, 1388, at the general assembly of the people, there were present one hundred and fourteen persons, who had known Tell during his life. These would not have allowed a falsehood to be recorded, to aid by the addition of romance the immortal reputation of their countryman.'

Of the works which stand at the head of this article, Brockedon's 'Illustrations,' comprise a magnificent assemblage of engraved views of Alpine scenery, accompanied by a text agreeably written, and evincing historical knowledge and a talent for discriminating observation. His 'Excursions' form an entertaining itinerary, which, from its size, is more accessible to the public at large. Ebel's Switzerland embodies more local information respecting the Alpine country, than any work of similar size that we have seen; and the last edition considerably exceeds the former ones in the comprehensiveness of its details.

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ART. VI. *The Last of the Stuarts.*

History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745, 1746. By ROBERT CHAMBERS. 2 vols. First American Edition. Philadelphia, 1833.

THERE are few passages in history of more romantic interest, than the expedition, of which this writer has undertaken to give a new description; nor was there ever a more open field for the historian. The account given by Home, was, as might have been expected, full of those prejudices, which so often overbalance, in the eye witness, all the advantage he might otherwise derive from standing near the scene of action. In fact, it is often found, that those, who have borne a trifling part in great transactions, consider everything in relation to what they themselves heard and saw, and in this way form an idea of the whole, much more limited and partial than those who are distant both in place and time, and derive all their information from others. Perhaps too, there never was a time from 'the fortyfive,' till the end of the last century, when any writer could have been found sufficiently free from political prejudice, to be able to give an impartial account of what related to the Stuarts; for although the family and their adherents had long passed away, the prejudices which had been excited for and against them still existed, sustained perhaps by association with religious interests and feelings. Considered as a political contest, involving the cause of good government and the prosperity of the British nation, there was no reason to wish success to this bold adventure; but if it be regarded simply as a trial of strength between the Hanover and Stuart successions, as individuals contending for the crown, the feeling of the impartial would incline in favor of the losing party; since they were unfortunate almost beyond example, and their successful rivals disgraced their victory by violence and blood.

The history of the Stuart family itself is a singular one, and very much resembles the course of this knight errant expedition, which seemed thrown like a rocket into the heart of England, where, after startling all eyes with its fiery brightness, it exploded, and was lost in darkness forever. If we may credit

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the Scotch historians, the race descended in a direct line from Fleance, the son of Banquo; and to all who question this fact, they put the question, From whom did they descend, if not from him?—an interrogation, which has often been employed with great effect on such occasions. Lord Hailes professes not to be able to trace their origin; they were probably a wealthy and powerful Norman family, who derived the name by which they are now known, from their office as stewards of Scotland. When they reached the throne by marriage, their course may be traced in history by its peculiar difficulties and sorrows, which pressed heavily upon all the race, but were seen most distinctly in the fortunes of Mary, and her grandson Charles. No doubt there was much to condemn in their personal characters; and their maxims of government were such, as never could be tolerated in a nation which had the least pretension to the name of free; still, we can hardly refuse our sympathy to their 'discrowned heads,' as we trace their course from the rough mountains of the North, to the sunny plains of Italy, where it ended miserably at last.

The history of this expedition is interesting, from the circumstance of its making us so well acquainted with the Highlanders, who, though not the best neighbors in the world, are invaluable as subjects of poetical interest and philosophical contemplation. Living in their natural castles and towers,—separated by their mountain barriers from the arts and refinements of civilized life, they were as little known in Edinburgh, as the Indians of our country are now in our Atlantic cities; they were as little understood, as those diluvial currents, which, geologists say, swept down from the north in former ages, and left their traces on all the British isles. Their political organization was, for a civilized region or a civilized vicinity, vicious and dangerous to the last degree. It was substantially the same with that which existed in the days of the patriarchs, founded upon a sentiment of loyalty and association, which was deeper and stronger than can be conceived by cultivated man, and which, though it made them terrible instruments of violence at times, also led to unexampled heights of chivalrous gallantry and generous self-devotion. It was not surprising that they should be ready to fight for their chief or sovereign, since they were a military people, who delighted in war; but it was certainly most honorable to them, that Charles Edward, after bringing ruin directly down upon them, and depriving

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them of all but honor, should have been able to linger among them so long, when a word would have betrayed him, and have earned the price of thirty thousand pounds, which was offered for his head. Whatever their political sins may have been, they have since been expiated. The bloody ploughshare passed over them, and salt was sown upon their soil; in destroying their social condition as it was, no care was taken to supply it with a better; the result is, that this romantic region is left, every year, more and more desolate, and its inhabitants are resorting in great numbers to the northern parts of our country.

With respect to the individuals, whose names are most distinguished in connexion with this enterprise, the general sentiment has given its verdict long ago. The Duke of Cumberland was exalted to the skies for the victory of Culloden, gained over an inferior, divided and disheartened army; but his reputation, thus acquired, proves nothing but the universal dismay which prevailed throughout the kingdom; no other part of his military history indicates anything more than an ordinary man. He was unable to contend with Marshal Saxe at Fontenoy; and when he returned to the continent in 1747, he was again defeated by that distinguished general at Laufeld. Ten years after, he lost the battle of Hastenbach against D'Estrées, and ruined his credit by the convention at Closterseven, which closed his military career. If this part of his history is not particularly honorable, there is nothing on which his reputation can rest; for the course which he pursued after the fortunate accident which popular gratitude magnified into a great victory, was more thoroughly brutal and disgusting than anything recorded in modern times; indeed, the whole treatment inflicted upon the Highlanders by the English army, shows how naturally the basest fear is followed by wild and fierce revenge. This General seems to have formed a tolerably correct estimate of his own standing; for after his recall from the continent, he remarked that he no more deserved his present disgrace, than his former glory.

The character of the young Chevalier is also established in history, beyond the power of prejudice to alter. Nothing can be more natural, than that he should have believed in his right to the English throne,—a right, which had been admitted by the nation itself for more than one generation, and which many lofty minds believed in so firmly, that they were willing to die in defence of it. He had been educated in this faith, which

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was acknowledged with enthusiasm by those around him, and it could not be expected that he should be among the foremost to discover the defects of his title to the crown, or to renounce the inheritance of his fathers. There is no doubt that he was, when he came to Scotland, a brave and accomplished young man. That he had talents, is sufficiently evident from his success; for none but an able men could have induced his adherents to embark in an enterprize so desperate from the beginning, nor could any other have kept together the discordant materials of his army, and wrought them up to such gigantic efforts, that the best armies of England, as fast as they met them, were successively swept away. It is true, that he afterwards fell into degrading habits and vices, but these were the consequence of his wretched fortunes; and it is absurd to say, that because the evening was clouded, the morning could never have been fair. His disappointed adherents ascribed their misfortunes to him, and when he was manifestly unable to serve them, their loyalty changed into hatred and revenge. One of these was the chevalier Johnstone, another was Dr. King. The former, unless his work does him great injustice, equally weak in his principles and his brain;—the latter, a deserter from his party, whose temper had been soured by the failure of all his political designs. But it is not necessary to enlarge on this point, since Scott, with his usual fairness, has taken the just view of the character of Charles Edward, and fixed it in the public mind with a depth of impression, which no time will wear away.

It does not appear, that he received encouragement from any quarter, to attempt the invasion of England. A constant correspondence was kept up with the adherents of his party in England, but they, while they detested the Protestant succession, and were sufficiently discontented with their own position, had no taste for engaging in any bold adventure. Neither was France either able or willing to render efficient aid. They were willing to keep the exiled family as a thorn in the side of England, but they had not enough to gain from a change of dynasty, to make them willing to sacrifice much to effect it. The aspect of England was certainly inviting, could sufficient resources have been brought to bear upon her by an invader. She was involved in one of those endless and unmeaning continental wars, in which she has always wasted her treasure and blood. Her army had but lately received a stunning and

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almost fatal blow; her navy was, as usual, engaged at the world's end, and the people were complaining bitterly of war, oppression and taxes. But this discontent, which is always found in every free nation, while it seems to those without like the last struggle of life, is, in fact, nothing more than one of the conditions of national existence in a state of freedom; and should any invader attempt to take advantage of it, he finds that all parties unite, and direct upon him that energy which they have just been wasting in quarrels with each other. And while he had little prospect of aid from others, his own resources were exceedingly few and small. He had no experienced officer with him, and his money was less than four thousand pounds. As for an army, which was the essential thing, it was with extreme difficulty that he was able to reach Scotland, almost alone.

The welcome which Charles received when he first arrived in Scotland, was as discouraging as possible; but he had made up his mind to the enterprise, and was determined not to be withheld by the power of his enemies or the coldness of his friends. He landed with only seven attendants, at Borodale, a farm belonging to Clanranald, a gallant young chief, who represented to him the hopelessness of the undertaking, but ended by devoting his heart and hand to the service of his master. In this act of fidelity, he was, at the time, entirely alone: the Government had many powerful friends in the region, and no other chief had yet declared in favor of Charles. When we remember that this chieftain was fully aware of his danger, that he saw from the first what the result would be, and that, with these impressions in his mind, he went forward fearlessly to discharge what he regarded as a sacred duty, this seems to us like one of the noblest actions which history records. For to follow a sentiment,—to have a noble sentiment inspire the heart with such power, as to make the man hold death and danger light,—to have the sentiment of self-sacrifice act upon the heart, with more power than any prospect of personal advantage, is a decided proof of moral greatness, such as makes the coldest heart burn within.

The first who came to Charles Edward at Borodale, was Donald Cameron, called *young* Lochiel, because his father was still living, though an exile on account of his former exertions in favor of the Stuarts. On his way, Lochiel called on his brother John Cameron, to whom he made known his

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purpose of visiting the Prince, in order to convince him that his design was impracticable. But his brother, who knew his character, warned him that the voice of Charles Edward would waken all the sleeping fires of loyalty in his breast. Lochiel went on, and when he saw the Prince, exerted all his eloquence to induce him to return to France. But Charles declared to him that he would persevere, if he went on alone; and that Lochiel, the brave and loyal, might remain at home, and hear how his prince had fallen. This appeal was irresistible, and the fate of the whole enterprise depended upon its success; for we are told by Home, that had Lochiel declined following, not another chief in all the Highlands would have taken arms for the exiled king.

Charles Edward, encouraged by this success, removed to Kinlochmoidart, and thence to Lochshiel, near the eastern extremity of which he had determined to set up his standard. Meantime the commander of Fort Augustus, hearing some obscure reports of his movements, despatched two companies to Fort William, twenty-eight miles distant, to keep those districts in order. The path of this detachment lay on the steep sides of mountains. As they approached a bridge which crossed a mountain torrent, they heard the sound of a bagpipe, and found that the bridge was in possession of Highlanders, whose force they could not discern. Their number in reality did not exceed twelve, but the officer, perceiving the disadvantage of his position, attempted to retreat; while he was returning, he was surrounded by other clans, and compelled to surrender. This little success tended very much to encourage the Highlanders, and to prepare them for the coming war.

The standard was raised in the vale of Glenfinnin, and Charles Edward found himself at the head of a force of twelve hundred men. He then declared war upon the Elector of Hanover, the usurper of his father's throne. That king was in Hanover when the insurrection began. The nation was governed by a regency in his absence, and the affairs of the North were entrusted to an officer called Secretary of State for Scotland. The first intelligence of danger was communicated by the celebrated Duncan Forbes, President of the Court of Session, who exerted his powers and spent his fortune in the service of the King on this occasion, and received in return such recompense as sovereigns are said to be too apt to give. He went to Sir John Cope, commander of the forces in Scot-

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land, with a letter which he had received from a Highland gentleman, giving a distinct intimation of the danger. Cope sent notice at once to the Secretary, the Marquess of Tweedale, advising that arms should be transmitted to the North for the use of the loyal clans. But so inefficient were all arrangements, that nothing was done; and it is a little remarkable, that Cope, who was the only public officer who had sense enough to understand the danger, should have so entirely lost his reputation for military foresight and skill. It is one of the most common expedients of political foolishness in high places, to make others the scape-goats for its own sins.

But the truth is, that the British army of that day was ridiculously inefficient. From the days of Marlborough, it had been constantly declining in discipline and vigor; but the decay was not felt, because all the particulars of dress and equipment were sacredly regarded, and nothing was neglected but the man. In fact, there was hardly any approach to reform in these respects, till Napoleon opened his great military school for the nations, and gave lessons in it which will not soon be forgotten in the world. Can the imagination conceive of any thing more profoundly absurd, than Braddock's army going forth, in powdered wigs, to engage in bush-fights with the Indians? So lately as the Revolutionary war, we are told by Wilkinson, that the Connecticut lighthorse presented themselves at the camp in full bottomed wigs, and were welcomed with most irreverent mirth by the commanding officer, General Lee. The dress, however, was in keeping with all the rest of the system, which, beside being weak, was inefficient, unmanageable, and wholly unfit to contend with the wild fury of the Highlanders, who paid not the least regard to the graces and refinements of war.

If the Highlands had been within the Arctic circle instead of being almost within sight of Edinburgh, it would have been impossible for the Government to be more completely uninformed, both with respect to Charles Edward's motions, and the amount of danger which they had need to dread. Cope took counsel with the well known Andrew Fletcher and Duncan Forbes, the latter of whom was familiar with the Highlands, where by his talents and eloquence he had converted many chiefs from Jacobitism; their advice was, that he should march forward at once, and endeavor to strike an effectual blow before all the disaffected clans had time to assemble in

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arms. As his own opinion coincided with theirs, he led out his army of fourteen hundred men, intending to garrison Fort Augustus, which is in the centre of the district where the troubles began. Though he was to move through the Alpine passes of the Highlands, he was incumbered with vast quantities of baggage, and even with cannon, beside the arms which he had provided for the use of the loyal clans. But he needed a Baillie Jarvie, to inform him that the 'Highlanders may quarrel and gie each other ill names, and maybe a slash wi' a claymore, but they are sure to join in the lang run, against a' civilized folk that wear breeks.' He found excuses in abundance, but no reinforcements; his baggage horses were stolen, and the supplies necessarily left in the hands of those who hoped to officiate as his executors; all manner of contradictory intelligence was furnished to mislead him, so that he was at last completely bewildered. Finding his situation extremely dangerous, he turned aside to Inverness, after taking the opinions of a council of war.

This was precisely the movement which the insurgents wanted; it left open the path for them to descend to the Lowlands, and the impression that the English were afraid to encounter them, had a great effect in filling up the ranks of their army. It was only necessary to gain the chief; whatever side he chose, was adopted by the clansmen, though it was sometimes necessary, as Voltaire said of the execution of Admiral Byng, to shoot one, 'in order to encourage the rest.' Charles Edward took unwearied and most successful pains to gain the favor of all, by adopting their manners, speaking their language, and walking at their side. His appearance and bearing are said, by those who saw him, to have been very noble and engaging; his figure was tall and commanding; his face had that thoughtful expression which his unfortunate race are all said to have borne, like a prophetic seal upon their brow; these personal advantages, together with the air of high birth, and the associations, which surrounded him like a glory in the land of his fathers, gave him resistless power over the affections of that warm-hearted people. But his long flowing hair seemed so unfashionable in that day, that one of his Highland guards, seeing an Edinburgh baillie with a wig of most voluminous proportions, seized it without ceremony, and to the equal horror of the prince and citizen, transferred it to Charles Edward's head.

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The movement of Cope removed every obstacle, which could have prevented Charles from pressing on to Edinburgh; he therefore advanced rapidly by land, while that unfortunate general sent for transports, to convey his army back to the city. Great was the consternation in the capital, when they found that the invaders were coming down upon them, and their preparations were such as fear is apt to suggest, which most endanger those who use them. They immediately organized a civil militia,—a kind of force which has at least its harmlessness to recommend it, and made other demonstrations, which remind one of Brinkerhoff, as described by Knickerbocker, who, when the British fleet appeared on the coast, stationed two swivels in his entry, the one pointing to the front, the other to the back door. Home, the historian, in an anonymous pamphlet, made himself exceedingly merry with these proceedings, and their value is proved by the fact, that when the commander marched out at their head, to encamp beyond the city walls, on turning at the gate to look upon the warlike columns, he found that, with the exception of a few in his immediate neighborhood, they were no longer visible to the naked eye; the duty of self-preservation had struck them as peculiarly impressive and binding, and as their consciences were made more delicate than usual by the circumstances, they felt that they could not answer for wantonly throwing away their lives. This sentiment was so general, that when the Highlanders entered the city by night, they saw nothing but a few nightcapped heads, put forth indignantly, to ask why their sleep was so unseasonably broken. Edinburgh, with the exception of the castle, surrendered without a blow, and the adventurer was established in Holyrood, the palace and house of his fathers.

Charles Edward held his court in the palace, where he was surrounded by the chivalry and beauty of the land. They felt as if the ancient glory and independence of Scotland were alive again, after having been lost for ages. It is true that wealth and splendor did not abound: but this defect by no means served to destroy the resemblance to former times. The general enthusiasm was extreme; and care had been taken to fan the flame, by those beautiful melodies, full of political allusions thinly veiled under expressions of lover-like attachment, which kept up a feeling, both in cottages and castles, that there would be 'nae luck about the house' till

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its rightful lord returned. The Prince was called by the Highlanders, Charlich, or Charli, which was his own name translated into the Gaelic, and which sounded in the Lowlands so affectionate and familiar, that he was generally known as Prince Charlie. His way thus prepared, 'his very foot had music in't, as he went up the stair.' As he was ascending the staircase of Holyrood, James Hepburn of Keith, who is said by his enemies to have been a noble specimen of chivalrous grace and honor, stepped forward and ushered him into the hall of the ancient kings of Scotland.

Charles Edward, feeling the necessity of vigorous action, remained but three days in Edinburgh before he hastened to encounter Cope; who, not a little indignant at being out-generalled, had landed his troops at Dunbar, and was burning for an opportunity to redeem his military fame. The armies met at Preston, and those who saw the disorderly line of the Highlanders, compared with the firm and brilliant ranks of the royal army, believed that their meeting would put an end to the cause of the Stuarts forever. The battle is described in Waverley. Though, as Evan Dhu remarked, the churchyard of Tranent, which was in the field, was a very convenient place for any gentleman who might have the misfortune to be killed, and might chance to be curious about Christian burial, very few in the English army were inclined to avail themselves of that advantage. The Highlanders came down like a thundercloud bursting upon them; their ranks were at once broken in confusion, the General was borne away by the retreating torrent, and no one maintained the honor of England, but the celebrated Colonel Gardiner, who, deserted by his own troop, put himself at the head of a few resolute men, and was cut down under the wall of his own park, which was on the border of the battle field. General Cope carried to the south the news of his own entire defeat, and unmerciful was the ridicule which followed him. Home, in the pamphlet to which we have alluded, says that he had once seen an Italian opera, in which Cæsar was represented as giving orders to his men to take to their heels, and encouraging them by his energetic example; so that Sir John Cope answered to some descriptions of Cæsar, if not to all. The melancholy and the ludicrous are seldom brought so near to each other, as on this occasion. While the field was covered not only with bodies, but with limbs, which had been hewn off by the broadswords, and while

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the wounded lay bleeding in every apartment of Colonel Gardiner's house, where the stains are seen in the floors to this day, the Highlanders were engaged in the work of plunder, though profoundly ignorant of the use and value of the most common things. One of the men handed a watch, which he took for a living animal, to an officer, saying that he was glad to be rid of the creature, which had died shortly after he caught it; when it had stopped for want of winding up. A gentleman, whose horses had been taken for the use of the army, applied to Lord George Murray after the battle, to have them restored. The General told him that he could by no means consent to such a measure; 'but,' said he, 'the horses are all in Tranent churchyard; watch your opportunity, pick out your horses and make the best of your way home.' The advice was followed, and the proprietor recovered his horses, or at least provided himself with others as good.

The course which Charles Edward wished to pursue, was to march directly for England, where the panic caused by the defeat at Preston would go before them, and do as much for them as their arms. This counsel, had it been adopted, might have proved successful; but he was overruled by his advisers, who believed, that by remaining in Edinburgh for a time, he might recruit his forces, and obtain valuable and important friends. He certainly succeeded in gaining the ladies to his party, so that Duncan Forbes complained, that he could not get one man of sense to aid him, so fearful were they of displeasing wives or mistresses, by acting against the young chevalier. The clergy were zealous against him, but were entirely unmolested; Charles was sufficiently a man of the world to laugh heartily when he heard of the devotions of the Rev. Mr. M'Vickar, who prayed that the young person, who had come in search of an earthly crown, might soon have a heavenly one, which was a great deal better. Whatever Charles's maxims of government might have been, had he reached the throne, he always seemed perfectly indifferent to the Catholic faith, and would not probably have exerted himself to restore it.

The battle of Preston or Gladsmuir was fought on the 21st of September. When the news reached London, the Government and nation were sufficiently alarmed. A large force was despatched to Scotland under Marshal Wade, and part of the continental army was ordered home to defend the country. But such was the manner in which military operations were

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then conducted, that it was not before the last of October, that these troops were on their way. About the same time, Charles Edward left Edinburgh to cross the English borders, dividing his army in such a manner, as to leave it uncertain where they would enter the kingdom. These bodies were at last concentrated before Carlisle, a place formerly of great strength, and still defended by a castle and a wall. The city was summoned to surrender; it refused, and preparations were made to besiege it in form. When the garrison found that the besiegers were in earnest, as they had actually no means of resistance, they gave up the city and castle. This new success rang like a knell through England, and aided to increase the terrifying impression which prevailed, of the power of the invaders' arms. Marshal Wade, on hearing this news, felt as if something must be done; he immediately put his troops in motion at Newcastle; but there happened to be a fall of snow, which made the roads somewhat unpleasant; he therefore concluded to return to his station, and wait for comfortable travelling. This officer seems to have resembled the Russian admiral, who officiated as a General at the time of Napoleon's invasion, and was said to have felt unable to bring up his force to the scene of action, on one important occasion, by reason of an unfavorable wind.

The road was now open for the invading army to proceed to London. But all the exultation arising from this wonderful success, was overbalanced, by their finding no accessions in the towns through which they passed. There were Jacobites enough in England; but few were animated with the chivalrous spirit of the Highlanders. Had the Prince succeeded, he would have found thousands declaring in his favor; but so long as the event was uncertain, there were none who would hazard their property and lives to aid him. In truth, the chances of his final success were exceedingly small. The army under the Duke of Cumberland had now returned; his own little army was outnumbered by more than two to one; he had penetrated further into the heart of England, than any invader since the Norman conquest; there was no hope that he could do more, though the metropolis, and indeed all England, was in a state of profound dismay. Six miles beyond Derby was the utmost point reached by the invading army, and this was within four days' march of London. It is not distinctly known what counsels induced them to return; the Prince

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urged them to press onward, with the zeal and eloquence of one who is pleading for his life; but he could not prevail; and when they began their return, he seemed in perfect despair. His bearing, as described by those who were with him, was precisely similar to that of Fergus McIvor, as painted by the enchanted hand of Scott.

Here, one would have supposed that the interest of the story must have ended, when all hopes of success were evidently gone; but the desperate nature of the enterprise gives it so much romantic attraction, that the interest increases, instead of declining, from the moment when they commenced their return. The return was more dangerous too than the advance, and was conducted with greater firmness and skill. They had stolen two days' march upon the English army, before the Duke of Cumberland knew any thing of their movements: but when it was ascertained that they had actually commenced their retreat, his courage and that of his army began to rise; it seemed to be the first time they had breathed freely for six weeks, during which a small and ill appointed force had carried the standard of Glenfinnin a hundred and fifty miles into the heart of England, in the face of a hostile people, and of an army which immeasurably exceeded theirs in discipline and numbers. That army could boast, like Sancho, that 'they feared nothing but danger;' but there does not seem to have been any one among them, from the highest to the lowest, who was in the least ambitious of the crown of patriotic martyrdom or of any posthumous fame.

The English army pursued, but they seem to have taken judicious care not to proceed too fast; for though they were mounted, and the Highlanders on foot, a fortnight passed before even the cavalry overtook them. Marshal Wade, whose army lay nearer Scotland than that of Charles, sent a force, mounted, that they might not suffer from bad walking, to cut off their retreat: but they arrived at the place where they had heard of the Highlanders, some time after it had been deserted; and having thus obeyed their orders, they seem to have thought it more safe and social to join the army of Cumberland. The order which was sent to the north to break down bridges, was another interruption; a river, however wild and rapid, was no more interruption to a Highlander, than to a wild bird; while the English army, when they came up, were compelled

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to wait till boats could be prepared, or to submit to the painful necessity of wetting their feet.

The rear guard was commanded by Lord George Murray, a man of great courage and talent, who, when the English army came nearer, contrived to keep them at bay, by making it dangerous to approach him. Being delayed by the breaking down of some baggage wagons, the enemy came upon him; his force consisted of but two or three hundred men, and he applied to the Prince for a reinforcement, with permission to turn the flank of Cumberland's army. The permission was refused, and orders were sent him to retreat; but, after requesting the messenger to say nothing of the orders he had brought, he determined to give them a check with what force he had; he therefore drew up his troops in order for battle, and the English army came up just as the sun was setting. After making his hasty arrangements, which were not completed till it was quite dark, he made a powerful charge upon the English, lighted on by the moon, which broke at intervals through the dark clouds. The dragoons were forced back, with the loss of one hundred and fifty, while the Highlanders lost but twelve: this was the conflict at Penrith, in which Scott represents Fergus McIvor as taken prisoner; it fully answered the purpose: the Scotch general drew off his little force unmolested; his enemies seemed to be of the same mind with Dogberry, who, when asked by the watch, what they must do if they saw a thief breaking into a house, were told by that official, that in his opinion, the less they had to do with that sort of people, the better.

After leaving a garrison in Carlisle, which was soon obliged to surrender, the army of Charles re-crossed the border. The Duke of Cumberland then thought his further services unnecessary, and returned to London, leaving the remainder of the campaign to be conducted by General Hawley and Marshal Wade. It is inconceivable, why the two English armies did not overtake and crush the rebels, exhausted as they were by their long march in the depth of winter; but nothing was done to prevent their moving on to Glasgow, a place bitterly hostile to the Stuarts, where, perhaps by way of punishment, the Chevalier recruited his army, which was fainting with hunger and want of rest. A citizen of Glasgow, seventy years after, described his appearance to Mr. Chambers. 'I managed,' said this ancient, 'to get so near him, as he passed to his lodgings,

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that I could have touched him with my hand; and the impression which he made on my mind, will last as long as I live. He had a princely aspect, and its interest was much heightened by the dejection, which appeared in his pale fair countenance and his downcast eye. He evidently wanted confidence in his cause, and seemed to have a melancholy foreboding of that disaster, which, soon after, ruined all the hopes of his family forever.'

As we have just said, General Hawley was left in command of Cumberland's army. His character seems to have resembled that of Vain Glory in Bunyan, since, without reflecting that what had befallen others might possibly happen to him, he expressed himself on all occasions with the utmost contempt for his brother generals and their forces, who had been beaten by what he considered a contemptible foe. As he approached Edinburgh, a party of Gardiner's dragoons came out to congratulate him: he received them with a sharp and scornful reproof for their cowardice at Preston, and warned them, that, should there be another engagement, he would not let them off so easily, unless they conducted themselves better. While his army was reposing in Edinburgh, Charles Edward was laying siege to Stirling castle, but without success. Hawley, finding that a good opportunity was presented for gaining immortal fame, sent out his forces to Falkirk, a memorable field, where a great battle had been fought in defence of Scottish freedom four centuries before, determined perhaps to establish among its many glorious associations, some memorials of his own renown. The Highlanders were not in the habit of declining an engagement, and Charles Edward, when he found that his enemy really offered battle, drew up his army on Plean moor, not far from the illustrious field of Bannockburn. The recollections of either ground were favorable to the army which encamped upon it; at Falkirk, the arms of England, after a bloody conflict, had compelled Wallace to retreat; while at Bannockburn, Bruce had given them an overthrow so decided, that it almost annihilated the English power.

Hawley was possessed with such contempt for the Highlanders, that he hardly thought it necessary to observe their motions. Charles Edward took advantage of this vain confidence: he did not allow his own officers to know his purpose, but, after causing one body to retire to Stirling, in order to persuade the English that he was retreating, he despatched

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his army, in two divisions, one to the right, the other to the left of Hawley's line. Meantime his great standard was left flying on Plean moor, as if it were still his head quarters, though it was entirely deserted. So unapprehensive were the English of danger, that General Hawley accepted an invitation to breakfast with the Countess of Kilmarnock, a beautiful enthusiast in the cause of Stuart, who paid this attention to the English commander only to decoy him from his duty. It is said that Sir John Cope, who knew from sad experience, from what quarter disaster was likely to come, had taken bets to the amount of ten thousand pounds, that Hawley, who had been very severe upon him, would have no better success than his own; and he must have been greatly delighted with the result, which placed his censor in a more humiliating attitude than himself, before the public eye.

Between one and two o'clock, scouts came pouring in upon the English army, announcing that their enemies were at hand. The drums beat to arms, the lines were formed, and all possible efforts made by the officers on duty; but the absence and neglect of the general dispirited the men, who became possessed with the imagination that he had sold them to the enemy: at last he came, galloping up to the troops, with his head uncovered, and his whole appearance so disordered, as only to increase the panic which had already begun to spread. The day, which had hitherto been clear, began to exhibit the signs of a gathering winter storm, a circumstance by no means cheering to troops, who were unused to the rough climate of Scotland. Finding that Charles was endeavoring to reach the heights, from which he might overwhelm the English with one of the thundering Highland charges, Hawley resolved to dispute the ground, and therefore ordered his dragoons to advance, and the infantry to follow them, with fixed bayonets, up the sides of the hill. But the Highlanders succeeded in gaining the summit, and for a time, the armies stood opposed to each other, with a hollow between. As it was now four o'clock, and the night was already beginning to fall, Hawley ordered his cavalry to charge, not having the least idea that the Highlanders would stand the shock; but the moment they approached Charles Edward's army, and received their fire, they fell back in confusion. When the dragoons were thus disposed of, the clans rushed forward, and the southern half of the English army was at once swept away before the re-

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sistless tide. Those who witnessed the rout, describe it as instantaneous; they saw the English army enter the misty ridge on the hill; then came the sound of a heavy fire, and rolling folds of smoke; immediately after, the soldiers broke from the cloudy masses, and fled wild with disorder. In less than ten minutes from the opening of the action, the victory was almost complete.

Some of the English army rallied and made a spirited resistance; but Charles Edward, advancing with his reserve, compelled them to retreat with the rest. They did so without disorder: but the rest were so easily overpowered, that the Highland officers believed it to be a feint, thinking it impossible that men should run away, almost without a struggle, who had fought so bravely at Fontenoy. An idea prevailed, that Hawley had only retired for a time, and would renew the attack next morning; but the true state of the armies was soon understood, and after being exposed to the storm for five hours, Charles Edward entered Falkirk, and took possession of the cannon, baggage, and all the military stores of Hawley. The loss of the Highlanders was very small; and the regiments of the English army which resisted, beside saving their reputation, actually suffered much less than those which fled. When the flying parties reached Edinburgh next day, all was consternation there. At no time, was the public feeling so entirely dejected; for no one had dreamed of defeat. The troops of Hawley were not, like those of Cope, raw levies; they were veterans, who had seen the hard service of Dettingen, and other hard-fought battles. Hawley endeavored to conceal his mortification as well as he could; he represented himself, as having suspended the battle on account of the weather, and said that he was induced to make a retrograde movement, to prevent the rebels from getting between him and Edinburgh. But it is easier for bulletins to lie, than to induce the public to believe them. The storm which he accused as the cause of his want of success, did not beat half so severely as the shower of ridicule which fell upon him; and which, it must be acknowledged, he had both provoked and deserved. After the campaign was ended, and the dragoons put into quarters at Redding, one day, when the horses were all feeding together, a storm came up which seemed to remind the animals of Falkirk; they arranged themselves in a sort of array, and stood trembling and snorting as if waiting for the fire. It soon began to thunder, upon

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which they turned, and fled through the town as fast as on the 17th of January; thus, as if possessed with the spirit of comic action, rehearsing the scenes at Falkirk, to the vast delight of all except their unhappy riders.

Prince Charles's army did not follow up this victory with much energy; they were exhausted by long labors, and were also sensible that it would be impossible for them to accomplish their first design, that of driving the Protestant succession from the throne. Moreover the dissensions which had before interfered with the daring plans of their chief, had their effect on this occasion: the generals of his army constantly accused each other, as if the fortune of the enterprise could in that way be redeemed. While the Highlanders were sad even in victory, their enemies took courage under their perpetual defeat. By charging every misfortune upon the incapacity of their generals, they endeavored to cover the disgrace of their arms. They knew too that there were resources enough in the nation, could they be brought to bear, to sweep away an army ten times as great as that of Charles. The news of the rout at Falkirk reached the court of St. James, on the day when a drawing room was held, and threw sufficient gloom over the occasion. The Duke of Cumberland was ordered to proceed immediately to Scotland, where he arrived on the 30th of January, 1746. He was very much beloved by the troops, probably from his resemblance to the rank and file in personal accomplishments; and by some mysterious confidence they felt persuaded that he would lead them to victory on that occasion, though he never had done so before. As the insurgents had already determined to retire to the Highlands, the victory was, in fact, gained already, by the despondency of Charles Edward, rather than by Cumberland's arms. We should rather say, by the despondency of his generals; for on the 20th, Charles held a review at Bannockburn, with a view to another battle, when he found that his numbers were reduced to five thousand. On the 29th, Lord George Murray and the principal chiefs presented an address to him, in which they represented that it would be impossible to fight with the least hope of success, and that a retreat to the mountains would disconcert the enemy while it enabled them to recruit their dwindling bands. Charles reluctantly submitted to necessity, and crossed the Forth on his way to the Highlands. The Duke pursued as rapidly as possible; but though

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at the commencement of the chase he was only one day's march behind them, the distance had increased threefold in less than a week. While the Highlanders dashed through the streams, he could not pass them without a long course of solemnities. Finding the pursuit unavailing, and seeing no attraction in the wintry prospect of the Highland mountains, he determined to suspend his movements for a time, magnifying the exploit of fishing up a few spiked guns from the bed of the Tay, and sending out parties to inflict those beastly cruelties upon the inhabitants of the region, which have brought lasting contempt upon his name.

Charles Edward, meantime, severe as the climate of February is in the north of Scotland, continued his march till he came to Inverness, which was garrisoned by two thousand men under the Earl of Loudoun. He had divided his army into two detachments, before entering the Highlands, one of which he commanded in person, the other was led by Lord George Murray. Before making any attempt upon Inverness, he determined to wait for that General to join him, and in the interval, apprehending no danger, he gave rest and indulgence to his troops, who had suffered so much in their campaign. His head quarters were established at the castle of Moy, belonging to the Laird of MacIntosh, who was in the royal service under Lord Loudoun, while his lady commanded the clan in the service of Charles Edward. Lord Loudoun, having ascertained that the Prince felt perfectly secure, formed a plan to seize him, and having given positive orders that no one should leave Inverness, which was guarded in all directions, he marched out one night at the head of fifteen hundred men toward the castle of Moy. It was never precisely known how Charles Edward received warning; but probably there were many, MacIntosh among the number, who served in the royal army to escape the penalties of treason, while their hearts and clans were with the Chevalier. A girl of thirteen came running to the castle of Moy at midnight, to give the alarm, and Lady MacIntosh, having no better force at hand at the moment, sent out a country blacksmith, with half a dozen others, to watch the progress of the royal troops. This worthy, who, like all the Highlanders, was most at home in scenes of confusion, by no means considered his trust confined to mere observation, and as the king's troops were coming to surprise others, thought it might be as well to surprise them. He therefore planted his

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men at intervals along the road, and when he heard the approach of the troops, fired his piece and lifted up his voice as if giving orders, all which ceremonies were repeated by his companions, with so much energy, that the English were convinced that the Camerons, MacDonalds, and a hundred other clans, had ensnared them in an ambush, and were about to thunder down upon them. The leading columns immediately turned and fled, and as the rear, not comprehending the cause of alarm, did not get out of the way, they were trampled down in great numbers. The blacksmith gave them no quarter, but kept up his fearful shoutings, till not a man was left in the field. He acted up to the maxim of his profession, to strike while the iron was hot, and did it with so much success, that the Master of Ross, who was in Loudoun's army, afterwards said he had been in many scenes of danger, but never was in such fear and peril as in the breathless rout at Moy. The next morning, Charles Edward advanced to Inverness, and the English General, not having recovered from his alarm, retreated into Ross, thus cutting himself off from Cumberland's army, and making himself useless for the rest of the campaign. We have been thus particular in describing this engagement, because this General afterwards served in America; his name appears in Mr. Sparks's second volume of Washington. What his exploits were in this country, we cannot say; history, that should have recorded them, had something else to do.

While Charles Edward held possession of Inverness, the Duke of Cumberland had his head quarters at Aberdeen, a hundred miles distant, waiting, according to the military fashion of the day, till the weather should be pleasant and the travelling good, before he entered again upon the fatigues of a campaign. The Highland army employed their time in reducing the forts and driving away the parties which annoyed them, which they accomplished with almost invariable success. They were sustained by the expectation of aid from France; nor was Louis at all backward in his attempts to aid them; but the British cruisers were so numerous on the coast, that it was impossible for the vessels which he despatched for the purpose, to reach their destination. The troops of Charles Edward, thus destitute of resources, began to be reduced to great distress in a country, where there is not more food supplied by nature, than the inhabitants of the region require. The suffering which they underwent from hunger, was proba-

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bly the immediate cause of their desperate engagement with the English at Culloden, where their force was entirely broken and scattered to the winds. They hardly hoped for success in this bold measure; but, situated as they were, they felt disposed to anticipate, rather than to wait for their doom.

It was not till the beginning of April, that the English army thought it sufficiently pleasant to advance; which they did with great deliberation, keeping time with the fleet, which coasted along the shore. On the 15th, they reached Nairn, which was but sixteen miles from Charles Edward's position; and the Chevalier, finding that his army must perish, either by defeat or decay, thought it best to hazard an action, though his own army was not much more than half as numerous as the other, which was besides well supplied with provisions and all other military stores, in all which his own troops were miserably wanting. He therefore led them out to Drummossie Muir, a few miles east of Inverness, where he drew them up in battle array, to receive the Duke of Cumberland. This place is a vast heathy level, two miles from the south shore of the Moray Frith, and ten or twelve from Nairn. The place is favorable to the action of artillery and cavalry; and the safer course would have been to retire to the hills, in order to take advantage of the movements of the enemy; but the Highlanders, it must be remembered, were on the point of starving, and after being depressed by a retreat, would not have held together another day. There was in an engagement at least a chance of success, while in a retreat there was none.

As there was little hope of meeting the enemy in open field, when their force was so unequal, Charles Edward, with his usual activity and enterprise, determined to make an attack by night upon the camp of the enemy, which was at this time about nine miles distant. The attempt was hazardous in the extreme; since the Duke, instructed by the faults of his predecessors, took every precaution against surprise; and should the enterprise fail, there was nothing left on which to rely. When he submitted the proposal to his officers, they consented to it as a last resource, though they had but little confidence in its success. They then went to recall their men, who were wandering in search of food; but many of them told their officers, that they might shoot them if they pleased, but they were too much exhausted to obey them. When the time arrived, not more than half the little army could be collected;

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with these he proceeded, placing Lord George Murray, his principal officer, at the head, while he himself commanded the second line. The men were charged not to use fire arms, but only bayonets, dirks and broadswords; the night was as dark as ever fell; but this, instead of favoring their enterprise, was entirely against them; for, as they avoided the public roads, where their advance would have been easily detected, they were soon bewildered among the fields and plantations, through which they attempted to force their way. These obstacles delayed them so long, that it was two in the morning before they came within three miles of the enemy; and the General, calling a council of officers, who agreed that it would be impossible to reach their destination before day-break, determined, though with the utmost reluctance, to return to the former position. They reached it at seven in the morning, thoroughly exhausted. Their wants were so pressing that Charles Edward gave orders immediately to seize, for the use of the army, all provisions that could be found in the country. The foraging parties returned with supplies; but before they could be prepared for the famishing soldiers, the hour of decision was come.

At eleven in the forenoon, the lines of the English army began to appear on the verge of the moor. The Prince had retired to rest in Culloden House; but as soon as the intelligence reached him, he rose and put himself at the head of the army. He there exerted himself to collect his men, who amounted in all to about five thousand, in wretched condition for fighting with a force immeasurably superior, not only in numbers, but in all the other elements of strength. His officers advised retreat and delay, but Charles Edward was fully convinced that his army could hold together no longer, and hoped besides, that the stormy charge which had so often succeeded, would open a path for them to victory again. The line was formed by the clans in their order. Lord George Murray commanded the right wing and Lord John Drummond the left. It was with difficulty that a sufficient number of men could be collected to form a second line.

The Duke of Cumberland made preparations on his part, one of the most essential of which seems to have been, to prevent his men from indulging their taste for running away. This way of securing life was rendered less attractive by a martial law, which made it punishable with immediate death.

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He took every way to inspire them with courage, imploring them to dismiss the remembrance of former failures from their minds, though they were evidently quite fresh in his own. They were then led forward to the charge, and formed in perfect order at the distance of five hundred paces from the Highland line. While this was done, one of those incidents took place, which show the wild spirit of loyalty that animated the mountaineers. One of them, a ragged, wretched-looking creature, approached the English, and demanded quarter. He was sent to the rear, where he walked about apparently quite indifferent to the ridicule which his uncouth appearance excited. But he was watching his opportunity; and when Lord Bury, one of the Duke's aids, approached, the Highlander, mistaking him for the commander in chief, seized a soldier's musket and discharged it at that officer, waiting, as a matter of course, for the fire by which he himself was immediately shot down.

The battle was commenced by the Highlanders with their cannon, which were few and inefficient, and were soon answered with terrible effect by the batteries of the English army. The day, which till then had been bright and fair, now became overcast, and a storm of snowy rain beat directly in the faces of the Prince's men. The great object with each party seemed to be to make the other begin the attack: the English would not do this, because they saw that their artillery was rapidly thinning the ranks of their enemies; and Charles was under the necessity of making the attack. He sent orders to that effect to Lord George Murray; but the messenger was killed by a cannon-ball: the order, however, was unnecessary, for that officer, a man of fiery courage, took upon himself the responsibility of ordering the charge. The onset was as dreadful, as could be inspired by the energy of rage and despair. Though three ranks of the English poured a fire of musketry upon them,—though the cannon, loaded with grape-shot, swept the whole surface of the field,—though the bayonets fronted them with a hedge of steel, on they went like a whirlwind, and the front line of the English army reeled and gave way, though not till many a brave chief had fallen. But the English army was so numerous, that before the Highlanders could reach the second line of their enemy, they were entirely destroyed: the last man fell just as he came up to the points of the bayonets. Some few attempted to retreat, and

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some of the clans, discontented with the place assigned them, had taken no part in the action; but the greater part of them were strown in layers three or four deep upon the field. When Charles Edward saw that his front line had failed in the charge, he attempted to lead forward the second. For a time they checked the advance of the English: but all efforts were unavailing, and they in turn gave way. The Prince lingered on the field, from which he could hardly be forced away: he felt with a true foreboding, that the sun of that day was going down upon the ruin of his hopes, his family and his own illustrious name. The line where the Highlanders charged that day is still distinctly marked by their graves: they were buried in pits in the places where they fell, to the number of two thousand. 'The scene,' says the celebrated traveller, Dr. Clarke, 'is a wide heath, whose uniform and melancholy surface is only interrupted by turf-grown sods, rising at intervals, where, hushed in death, repose the bodies of the brave but ill-fated Caledonians. Wherever these mounds appear, the heath no longer grows, but the white clover and the daisy, mingled with a fine green turf, betray the deposite, mantled by their verdure.'

The cruelty which the English exercised after their victory is wholly unexampled in civilized lands. According to the statement of one of their own number, they looked more like an army of butchers than of soldiers, as they ran round the field stabbing and mangling the wounded: they doubtless had the feeling toward the Highlanders which we have heard expressed by certain bipeds of the West, human to appearance, who have boasted of the pleasure which they felt in shooting an Indian. The Duke of Cumberland himself encouraged this base revenge, and actually took a personal interest in it as it was going on. Soon after the battle, as he was riding over the field with Colonel Wolfe, afterwards so distinguished at Quebec, he saw a wounded Highlander, who looked up at him with a smile of defiance and scorn. He directed Wolfe to take his pistol and shoot the fellow for his insolence; but that high-minded officer replied, that he would resign his commission if it was required, but that he would not consent to be an executioner: a reply which, honorable as it was, lost him the favor of his chief. But, without taking the counsel implied in this answer, the Duke sent out parties to shoot the Highlanders wherever they could find them. They collected the wounded in heaps, and murdered them in cold blood. Many of these

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miserable survivors had crawled into a wretched hut not far from the field of battle; some persons were charitably engaged in giving them relief; these were all shut in by the soldiers, the building set on fire; and all within it, to the number of between thirty and forty, were burned to death. But even this act is exceeded by another: nineteen Highland officers, too severely wounded to retreat, were found in a wood and carried to the courtyard of Culloden House, where they lay without the least attention paid to their wants or their wounds. On the third day they were thrown into a cart, ranged against the wall of a park, and the soldiers were directed first to shoot them, and afterwards to beat out their brains to make the work of destruction sure. It is some consolation to reflect that the person, who was responsible for these enormities, reaped afterwards some of the consequences, which show that the heavens are just. Horace Walpole tells us, that the Duke of Cumberland was always suffering under the reproach of his barbarities at Culloden, where, as Walpole thought, he had done nothing more than his duty. Perhaps the ghastly remembrance was one cause of the depression which darkened all his later years.

We have been thus particular, in describing the revenge of the Duke of Cumberland, because it shows what often passes in the world for glory. Mr. Croker, a well-known English politician, says that orders were found, addressed by Lord George Murray to his army, directing them to give no quarter; these orders were forged afterwards, when the public opinion began to require some vindication of such proceedings; but we hardly know what to think of Mr. Croker's sense and feeling, who could intimate, that, supposing the order to be genuine, one piece of barbarity could serve as an excuse for another. 'Saul of my body,' said Captain M'Turk, 'gin you promulgate sic doctrines among good company, it's my belief you will bring somebody to the gallows.' However this might be, there never was such a storm of popularity, as that which followed the Duke of Cumberland; he was raised at once, by acclamation, to the very summit of his profession. He was thanked by all the public bodies; according to the usual fashion in such cases, he was hailed as the saviour of his country; nor was his country satisfied with these cheap acknowledgments; twenty-five thousand a year was added to his income; and the government labored with great success, to efface the remembrance of former dishonor, by a parade of its present glory.

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The civil government were not behind the army in following up the work of blood. The first executed were the prisoners taken at Carlisle, where Scott imagines Fergus McIvor to have suffered. Nine gentlemen were hanged, and then had their hearts torn out, and their bodies mangled, according to the English practice of the day. One of these gentlemen, who all died with great firmness, was a young man of family and fortune, who resembled Waverley in his circumstances, though not in his fate. With the wildness of youth, he had left England, and taken arms with the insurgents; he was engaged to a young lady, who fully expected his pardon, but, finding that his fate was inevitable, determined to be present when he died. No remonstrance could prevent her, and she followed the procession in a coach, from which she witnessed the scene, apparently without emotion; but the moment the shouts of the crowd rang in her ears, announcing that all was over, she closed her eyes and never breathed again. Some such tragical scenes as this, abated the appetite of the people for blood; but the government were not so easily satisfied. It was not enough for them, that the Highlands were laid utterly waste, so that one could travel for miles, where villages had been, 'without hearing the crowing of a cock, or seeing the smoke of a single chimney'; it was not enough for them, that the best and bravest of every clan were slain in battle, and that the wretched survivors must wander in poverty, exile and despair; it was not enough, that the last hope of the Stuarts and their friends had been cast down, so as to leave no possibility of its ever rising again; nothing would satisfy them, but the lives of their victims. The Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino suffered in London; the former moved all to compassion, by the grace and melancholy of his manner; the latter inspired respect, and almost fear, by the iron boldness, with which he expressed his contempt for his enemies and all that they could do. The fate of Lord Lovat, who had been traitor to every party, was the only one which was not regretted. Thus, in the strong language of Johnson, 'statutes reaped the refuse of the sword.' About eighty persons were thus butchered, with all the forms of law; but this example was not wanted for any political purpose, nor was it needed to show, that fear tends, more than any other passion, to make cannibals of men.

The escape of Charles Edward, after the battle of Culloden, is a very singular passage of history, and abounds in wild and

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romantic adventures. His situation was dangerous in the extreme; the reward of thirty thousand pounds quickened the exertions of those who pursued him, and the Duke's instructions to these parties were expressed in very intelligible language. 'No prisoners, gentlemen; you understand me.' He had also reason to fear, that some, who had exposed themselves to the penalties of treason, would be tempted to betray him, in order to secure themselves. Lord George Murray sent a message to him, desiring that he would remain in Scotland; but the chances were so much against him, that he determined as soon as possible to escape to the Western islands; nor was his condition such as to admit of any delay; for the English army immediately established posts in every part of the Highlands, and guarded the shore in such a manner as seemed to render it impossible to escape by sea. His first retreat in the islands was in Benbecula, where this descendant of a long line of kings resided in a cowhouse, without a door, having filthy straw covered with a sail-cloth for his bed. He prepared with his own hands his humble banquet,—a cake of oatmeal, mixed with the brains of a cow.

It was not long before Charles's route was discovered by the English, who had traced him to Long Island, which was immediately traversed by two thousand men, while war-vessels formed an unbroken line along the shore. While passing among the islands, which he was constantly obliged to do, to prevent his retreat from being discovered, he was chased for three leagues by an English ship, which he escaped by sailing among the rocks. On stealing out again to pursue his way, he was again discovered, and it was with the greatest difficulty he was able to reach Benbecula; but as soon as he had landed, a sudden storm arose, which drove his pursuers out to sea. He and his companions subsisted upon shellfish, till notice of his condition could be sent to Clanranald, father of the gallant chief of that name, who had led out the clan. When the chieftain came, he found the Prince cheerful indeed and undaunted, but miserably destitute of clothing, shelter and food. By the advice of Clanranald, they removed to a more secure hiding place, near the centre of South Uist. Here he lodged for several weeks, in what was called the Forest House of Glencoradale, a place sufficiently wretched, but recommended by its having a convenient access, either to the ocean or the hills.

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While he was in this retreat, he learned to his great dismay, that the English were determined to make a general sweep over all the islands. It seemed impossible that he should escape them longer; nor would he perhaps, had it not been for the courage and generosity of a young lady, Flora Macdonald, whose name, as Dr. Johnson says, 'will live in history,' where so many die. When the Doctor saw her, nearly thirty years after, he described her as a lady of pleasing person and elegant manners. She was at this time only twenty-four years of age, but had talent and resolution which were equal to any dangers. She applied to her step-father, with whom she was then visiting, for a passport for herself and her two servants, a man and a woman; he granted it at once, suspecting nothing. A female dress was then provided for the Chevalier, who was to pass as the female servant. When they went to carry him the dress and arrange their plan, they found him roasting the heart of a sheep on a wooden spit; his condition moved them to tears. He welcomed them with great cheerfulness, saying that it would be well for all kings to pass through such discipline as he was then enduring. While they were together, they heard that General Campbell had landed, with a great body of soldiers; and Lady Clanranald, who was one of the party, immediately returned to the house to receive them. For her kindness to the unfortunate Prince, she and her husband afterwards suffered a long imprisonment at London.

On the 28th of June, Charles Edward left the Long Island, where he had passed two months in constant danger. He was disguised as a female attendant of Miss Macdonald; the man servant was represented by Mr. Macdonald, father to the Duke of Tarentum, afterwards so distinguished in Napoleon's campaigns. They took a boat to sail for the Isle of Skye, which was less vigilantly guarded than the rest of the islands. After sailing all night, they approached the island, when they were fired upon by a party of English soldiers, who had allowed them to come within shot, without giving any alarm. The balls fell thick and fast around the boat; but no persuasion would induce the Highland girl to lie down in the boat, to avoid them; to all Charles Edward's remonstrances she replied, that her concern was for his life, and not for her own. Skye was tenanted by the Macdonalds and McLeods, who had not taken arms in favor of the Stuarts. Flora proceeded, on landing, to the house of Sir Alexander Macdonald, who was

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then with the Duke of Cumberland. His lady, who was well affected to the cause of Charles Edward, deputed Mr. Macdonald of Kingsburgh, to provide for his security and relief; she could not receive him to her own house, which contained several English officers. Kingsburgh took him, with his two companions, to his own house. There he enjoyed a pleasure to which he had long been a stranger,—that of sleeping in a bed. Such was the enthusiasm of loyalty, that Flora Macdonald kept one of the sheets in which he slept that night, through all the changes of her adventurous life, in Scotland and America; and was wrapped in it as a winding sheet when she died. It was thought best that he should proceed to Raasay, where he took an affectionate leave of Flora and Kingsburgh, who had brought him safe through a great variety of dangers, and entrusted his safety now to equally chivalrous and honorable hands. Malcolm McLeod was his guide and friend, during the remainder of his stay among the islands, which was not long, though it was crowded with perilous and interesting adventures.

Finding that the pursuit became too close in the islands, Charles Edward returned to the mainland,—to the same region, where he had first set up his standard, and which was now desolated by the English revenge. Dr. Johnson says, that 'English vengeance wars not with the dead,' but as the dead cannot gain much from this praiseworthy forbearance, it might be as well to extend it to the living, when they become helpless and fallen. This district throws out several mountainous promontories into the sea, each of which was so guarded on the landward side, as to render it impossible, to appearance, to escape into the country, while the cruisers prevented an escape by sea. Having ascertained that Charles Edward was in one of these promontories, the English felt surè of their prey; and for a space of twenty miles, a line of sentinels was established, who were stationed within sight of each other; and large fires were kept burning by night at every station, so as to throw a bright light on all the region round. Each sentinel walked to his còmrade's fire, and then returned to his own, passing each other, midway between the beacons. Of course their backs were turned to each other after passing, and the space between left, for a short time, unobserved. This trifling defect in the arrangement was a circumstance which saved the life of the Chevalier.

As constant search was made within the line of sentries,

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which could hardly be evaded by all the activity and address of Charles Edward, and one or two Highland gentlemen who were with him, they found it necessary to pass the line at all hazards; and accordingly effected their purpose, though with extreme danger, by creeping through the bed of a small mountain stream, at a time when the light of the fires was growing pale before the break of day. This remove, however, did not place him out of danger, nor did it add to his comfort; he was sometimes two days together entirely destitute of food; sometimes he slept under the shelter of rocks, and at one time he committed his safety to a band of robbers, who treated him with kindness and honor. While he was in this condition, his danger was lessened by a singular stratagem of Roderic Mackenzie, a young gentleman who resembled him in person; when hiding in the Braes of Glenmorriston, he was cut down by the king's soldiers, to whom he exclaimed, 'you have killed your Prince!' The party cut off his head with unfeigned delight, and brought it to the Duke of Cumberland, who was equally happy to receive it. He set off with it to London, where it was ascertained to be a counterfeit; but meantime, some of the troops had been withdrawn from the Highlands, under the impression that the great object of the search had been effected.

It was not long before the region of Charles Edward's retreat was again discovered; but he had been so long accustomed to this kind of danger, that he had ceased to fear it, and though the English soldiers were very often within sight of him, he did not suffer it to destroy his cheerfulness; he had also been joined by his noble friend Lochiel, who was now wandering without a shelter, in lands where he held the rights and powers of a feudal chief. They lived in a place called the Cage, in the side of the mountain of Benalder. This was constructed in a thicket, by laying trees, covered with earth, to form a floor, while the trees around it formed its sides, woven with heath and birch, and thatched on the top with moss. It was called the Cage, from a great tree which leaned over it, forming the roof, and seemed to hold it suspended in the air. The smoke rose against the face of the rock, which it so much resembled in color, that one could not distinguish it even in the clearest day. In this wild shelter the Prince remained from the 2d till the 13th of September, when intelligence reached him that two French vessels, despatched on purpose to bring him away,

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had succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the English cruisers, and were anchored in a bay of the neighboring shore. Care was taken to inform as many as possible of the opportunity of escape thus presented, and many of his adherents were assembled, some to attend him in his flight, and others to bid him farewell. There were few in the Highlands, even of those engaged in the service of the government, who really wished misfortune to Charles Edward, though many were opposed to his enterprise, some from principle, and others because it seemed to them that the attempt must be hopeless, and could only serve to deluge the whole kingdom with blood. But even of these, there was not one, who could be tempted by gold to betray him,—a fact which reflects immortal honor upon the Highland name.

It so happened, that his course in Scotland ended where it began. Moidart was the place where he landed fourteen months before, and from this place he was now to embark, to leave the land of his fathers. His faithful chiefs and gentlemen stood round him on the shore, their attachment to him undiminished by all they had suffered in his cause, while, with his natural dignity of manner, he spoke to those whom he was leaving, of his gratitude for their generous and unexampled affection, and expressed his hope that he should return in better days, and lead them to victory again. But when he came to the trial of bidding them farewell, he could no longer command his feelings, and burst into a flood of tears. The vessels were impatiently waiting, with sails rising and anchors weighed; then, when the last of the Stuarts stepped on board, in silence and sorrow, they stood rapidly out of the harbor, and were soon lost in the dark blue sea.

ART. VII.—*Disinterment of the Relics of several Kings. Account of the opening of the Tomb of King Charles the First, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.* By Sir HENRY HALFORD, Bart. M. D. Miscellaneous Works. London. 1831.

THE manner, in which we dispose of the remains of our deceased friends, is a subject which, within the last few years, has occupied a greater share, than formerly, of the public at-

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tention in our own vicinity. It involves not only considerations which belong to the general convenience, but includes also the gratification of individual taste, and the consolation of private sorrow. Although, in a strictly philosophical view, this subject possesses but little importance, except in relation to the convenience of survivors; yet so closely are our sympathies enlisted with it, so inseparably do we connect the feelings of the living with the condition of the dead, that it is in vain that we attempt to divest ourselves of its influence. It is incumbent on us therefore to analyze, as far as we may be able, the principles which belong to a correct view of this subject; since it is only by understanding these, that we may expect both reason and feeling to be satisfied.

The progress of all organized beings is towards decay. The complicated textures which the living body elaborates within itself, begin to fall asunder, almost as soon as life has ceased. The materials of which animals and vegetables are composed, have natural laws and irresistible affinities, which are suspended during the period of life, but which must be obeyed the moment that life is extinct. They continue to operate, until the exquisite fabric is reduced to a condition, in no wise different from that of the soil on which it has once trodden. In certain cases art may modify, and accident may retard, the approaches of disorganization, but the exceptions thus produced are too few and imperfect, to invalidate the certainty of the general law.

If we take a comprehensive survey of the progress and mutations of animal and vegetable life, we shall perceive, that this necessity of individual destruction is the basis of general safety. The elements which have once moved and circulated in living frames, do not become extinct, nor useless after death; —they offer themselves as the materials from which other living frames are to be constructed. What has once possessed life, is most assimilated to the living character, and most ready to partake of life again. The plant which springs from the earth, after attaining its growth, and perpetuating its species, falls to the ground, undergoes decomposition, and contributes its remains to the nourishment of plants around it. The myriads of animals which range the woods, or inhabit the air, at length die upon the surface of the earth, and, if not devoured by other animals, prepare for vegetation the place which receives their remains. Were it not for this law of nature, the

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soil would be soon exhausted, the earth's surface would become a barren waste, and the whole race of organized beings, for want of sustenance, would become extinct.

Man alone, the master of the creation, does not willingly stoop to become a participator in the routine of nature. In every age, he has manifested a disposition to exempt himself, and to rescue his fellow, from the common fate of living beings. Although he is prodigal of the lives of other classes, and sometimes sacrifices a hundred inferior bodies, to procure himself a single repast, yet he regards with scrupulous anxiety the destination of his own remains; and much labor and treasure are devoted by him to ward off for a season the inevitable courses of nature. Under the apprehension of posthumous degradation, human bodies have been embalmed, their concentrated dust has been inclosed in golden urns, monumental fortresses have been piled over their decaying bones;—with what success, and with what use, it may not be amiss to consider.

We have selected a few instances, in which measures have been taken to protect the human frame from decay, which will be seen to have been in some cases partially successful, in others not so. They will serve as preliminaries to the general considerations which are connected with the subject.

One of the most interesting accounts of the preservation of a body, the identity of which was undoubted, is that of the disinterment of King Edward I. of England. The readers of English history will recollect that this monarch gave, as a dying charge to his son, that his heart should be sent to the Holy land, but that his body should be carried in the van of the army, till Scotland was reduced to obedience.

He died in July, 1307, and notwithstanding his injunctions, was buried in Westminster Abbey in October of the same year. It is recorded, that he was embalmed, and orders for renewing the cerecloth about his body were issued in the reigns of Edward III. and Henry IV. The tomb of this monarch was opened and his body examined in January, 1774, under the direction of Sir Joseph Ayloffe, after it had been buried 467 years. The following account we extract from a contemporaneous volume of the Gentleman's Magazine.

'Some gentlemen of the society of antiquaries, being desirous to see how far the actual state of Edward 1st's body answered to the methods taken to preserve it, obtained leave to open the large

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stone sarcophagus, in which it is known to have been deposited, on the north side of Edward the Confessor's chapel. This was accordingly done on the morning of January 2, 1774; when in a coffin of yellow stone, they found the royal body in perfect preservation, enclosed in two wrappers; one of them was of gold tissue, strongly waxed, and fresh; the other and outermost considerably decayed. The corpse was habited in a rich mantle of purple, paned with white, and adorned with ornaments of gilt metal, studded with red and blue stones and pearls. Two similar ornaments lay on the hands. The mantle was fastened on the right shoulder by a magnificent *fibula* of the same metal, with the same stones and pearls. His face had over it a silken covering, so fine, and so closely fitted to it, as to preserve the features entire. Round his temples was a gilt coronet of fleurs de lys. In his hands, which were also entire, were two sceptres of gilt metal; that in the right surmounted by a cross fleure, that in the left by three clusters of oak leaves, and a dove on a globe; this sceptre was about five feet long. The feet were enveloped in the mantle and other coverings, but sound, and the toes distinct. The whole length of the corpse was five feet two inches.'

This last statement, it will be observed, is the only point in which the narrative appears to disagree with history. We are generally given to understand that Edward I. was a tall man; and that he was designated in his own time by the name of Long-shanks. Baker, in his Chronicle of the Kings of England, says of him that he was tall of stature, exceeding most other men by a head and shoulders. We have not been able to find Sir Joseph Ayloffe's account of the examination, and know of no other mode of reconciling the discrepancy, but by supposing a typographical error of a figure in the account which has been quoted.

Edward I. died at Burgh-upon-Sands in Cumberland, on his way to Scotland, July 7, 1307, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Another instance of partial preservation, is that of the body of King Charles I., the subject of the work at the head of this article. The remains of this unfortunate monarch are known to have been carried to Windsor, and there interred by his friends, without pomp, in a hasty and private manner. It is stated in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, that when his son, Charles II., was desirous to remove and re-inter his corpse at Westminster Abbey, it could not by any search be found. In constructing a Mausoleum at Windsor in 1813, under

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the direction of George IV., then Prince Regent, an accident led to the discovery of this royal body. The workmen, in forming a subterraneous passage under the choir of St. George's chapel, accidentally made an aperture in the wall of the vault of King Henry VIII. On looking through this opening it was found to contain three coffins, instead of two, as had been supposed. Two of these were ascertained to be the coffins of Henry VIII., and of one of his queens, Jane Seymour. The other was formally examined, after permission obtained, by Sir Henry Halford, in presence of several members of the Royal family, and other persons of distinction. The account since published by Sir Henry, corroborates the one which had been given by Mr. Herbert, a groom of King Charles's bed chamber, and is published in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

'On removing the pall,' says the account, 'a plain leaden coffin presented itself to view, with no appearance of ever having been inclosed in wood, and bearing an inscription, "King Charles, 1648," in large, legible characters, on a scroll of lead encircling it. A square opening was then made in the upper part of the lid, of such dimensions as to admit a clear insight into its contents. These were, an internal wooden coffin, very much decayed, and the body, carefully wrapped up in cere-cloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unctuous matter, mixed with resin, as it seemed, had been melted, so as to exclude, as effectually as possible, the external air. The coffin was completely full; and from the tenacity of the cere-cloth, great difficulty was experienced in detaching it successfully from the parts which it enveloped. Wherever the unctuous matter had insinuated itself, the separation of the cere-cloth was easy; and where it came off, a correct impression of the features to which it had been applied, was observed. At length the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discolored. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance; the cartilage of the nose was gone; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately; and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the period of the reign of King Charles, was perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval; many of the teeth remained; and the left ear, in consequence of the interposition of the unctuous matter between it and the cere-cloth, was found entire.

It was difficult, at this moment, to withhold a declaration, that, notwithstanding its disfigurement, the countenance did bear

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a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the picture of King Charles the First, by Vandyke, by which it had been made familiar to us. It is true, that the minds of the spectators of this interesting sight were well prepared to receive this impression; but it is also certain, that such a facility of belief had been occasioned by the simplicity and truth of Mr. Herbert's Narrative,—every part of which had been confirmed by the investigation, so far as it had advanced: and it will not be denied that the shape of the face, the forehead, the eye, and the beard, are the most important features by which resemblance is determined.

When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and without any difficulty was taken out, and held up to view. The back part of the scalp was entirely perfect, and had a remarkably fresh appearance; the pores of the skin being more distinct, and the tendons and ligaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and, in appearance, nearly black. A portion of it, which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark brown color. That of the beard was a redder brown. On the back part of the head it was not more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or perhaps by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy king.

On holding up the head, to examine the place of separation from the body, the muscles of the neck had evidently retracted themselves considerably; and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even, an appearance which could have been produced only by a heavy blow, inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles the First.

The foregoing are two of the most successful instances of posthumous preservation. The care taken in regard to some other distinguished personages has been less fortunate in its result. The coffin of Henry VIII. was inspected at the same time with that of Charles, and was found to contain nothing but the mere skeleton of the king. Some portions of beard remained on the chin, but there was nothing to discriminate the personage contained in it.

During the present century, the sarcophagus of King John has also been examined. It contained little else than a disorganized mass of earth. The principal substances found, were

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some half decayed bones, a few vestiges of cloth and leather, and a long rusty piece of iron, apparently the remains of the sword-blade of that monarch.

The rapidity with which decomposition takes place in organic bodies, depends upon the particular circumstances under which they are placed. A certain temperature, and a certain degree of moisture are indispensable agents in the common process of putrefaction, and could these be avoided in the habitable parts of our globe, human bodies might last indefinitely. We shall be excused for dwelling a short time on the influence of some of these preservative agents. Where a certain degree of cold exists, it tends powerfully to check the process of destructive fermentation, and when it extends so far as to produce congelation, its protecting power is complete. Bodies of men and animals are found in situations where they have remained frozen for years and even for ages. Not many years ago, the bodies of some Spanish soldiers were found in a state of perfect preservation among the snows of the Andes, where they were supposed to have perished in attempting to cross those mountains, nearly a century ago; their costume, and some historical records, indicating the probable period of their expedition. At the Hospice of the Grand St. Bernard in the Alps, some receptacles of the dead are shown to travellers, in which, owing to the effect of perpetual frost, together with the lightness of the atmosphere, but little absolute decay has taken place in the subjects deposited during a lapse of years. But the most remarkable instance of preservation by frost of an animal body, is that of an elephant of an extinct species, discovered in 1806 in the ice of the polar sea, near the mouth of the river Lena, by Mr. Michael Adams. This animal was first seen by a chief of the Tonguse tribe, in the year 1799, at which time it was imbedded in a rock of ice about 180 feet high, and had only two feet, with a small part of the body, projecting from the side, so as to be visible. At the close of the next summer, the entire flank of the animal had been thawed out. It nevertheless required five summers, in this inclement region, to thaw the ice, so that the whole body could be liberated. At length, in 1804, the enormous mass separated from the mountain of ice, and fell over upon its side, on a sand bank. At this time it appears to have been in a state of perfect preservation, with its skin and flesh as entire as when it had existed, antecedently to the deluge, or to whatever convulsion of the

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globe may have transported animals apparently of the torrid zone to the confines of the Arctic circle. The Tonguse chief cut off the tusks, which were nine feet long and weighed 200 pounds each. Two years after this event, Mr. Adams, being at Yakutsk and hearing of this event, undertook a journey to the spot. He found the animal in the same place, but exceedingly mutilated by the dogs and wolves of the neighborhood, which had fed upon its flesh, as fast as it thawed. He however succeeded in removing the whole skeleton, and in recovering two of the feet, one of the ears, one of the eyes, and about three quarters of the skin, which was covered with reddish hair and black bristles. These are now in the museum at St. Petersburg.

The foregoing facts are sufficient to shew that a low degree of temperature is an effectual preventive of animal decomposition. On the other hand, a certain degree of heat combined with a dry atmosphere, although a less perfect protection, is sufficient to check the destructive process. Warmth, combined with moisture, tends greatly to promote decomposition; yet if the degree of heat, or the circumstances under which it acts, are such as to produce a perfect dissipation of moisture, the further progress of decay is arrested. In the arid caverns of Egypt, the dried flesh of mummies, although greatly changed from its original appearance, has made no progress towards ultimate decomposition, during two or three thousand years. It is known that the ancient Egyptians embalmed the dead bodies of their friends, by extracting the large viscera from the cavities of the head, chest and abdomen, and filling them with aromatic and resinous substances, particularly asphaltum, and enveloping the outside of the body in cloths impregnated with similar materials. These impregnations prevented decomposition for a time, until perfect dryness had taken place. Their subsequent preservation, through so many centuries, appears to have been owing, not so much to the antiseptic quality of the substance in which they are enveloped, as to the effectual exclusion of moisture and air.

In the crypt under the cathedral of Milan, travellers are shown the ghastly relics of Carlo Borromeo, as they have lain for two centuries, enclosed in a crystal sarcophagus, and bedecked with costly finery, of silk and gold. The preservation of this body is equal to that of an Egyptian mummy, yet a more loathsome piece of mockery than it exhibits, we can hardly imagine.

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It will be perceived that the instances which have been detailed are cases of extraordinary exemption, resulting from uncommon care, or from the most favorable combination of circumstances; such as can befall but an exceedingly small portion of the human race. The common fate of animal bodies is to undergo the entire destruction of their fabric, and the obliteration of their living features in a few years, and sometimes even weeks, after their death. No sooner does life cease, than the elements which constituted the vital body, become subject to the common laws of inert matter. The original affinities, which had been modified or suspended during life, are brought into operation, the elementary atoms re-act upon each other, the organized structure passes into decay, and is converted to its original dust. Such is the natural, and we may add, the proper destination, of the material part of all that has once moved and breathed.

The reflections which naturally suggest themselves in contemplating the wrecks of humanity, which have occasionally been brought to light, are such as lead us to ask, of what possible use is a resistance to the laws of nature, which, when most successfully executed, can at best only preserve a defaced and degraded image of what was once perfect and beautiful? Could we by any means arrest the progress of decay, so as to gather round us the dead of a hundred generations in a visible and tangible shape; could we fill our houses and our streets with mummies,—what possible acquisition could be more useless, what custom could be more revolting? For precisely the same reason the subterranean vaults, and the walls of brick, which we construct to divide the clay of humanity from that of the rest of creation, and to preserve it separate for a time, as it were for future inspection, are neither useful, gratifying, nor ultimately effectual. Could the individuals themselves, who are to be the subjects of this care, have the power to regulate the officious zeal of their survivors, one of the last things they could reasonably desire would be, that the light should ever shine on their changed and crumbling relics.

On the other hand, when nature is permitted to take its course, when the dead are committed to the earth under the open sky, to become early and peacefully blended with their original dust, no unpleasant association remains. It would seem as if the forbidding and repulsive conditions which attend on decay, were merged and lost in the surrounding harmonies of the creation.

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When the body of Major André was taken up, a few years since, from the place of its interment near the Hudson, for the purpose of being removed to England, it was found that the skull of that officer was closely encircled by a network, formed by the roots of a small tree, which had been planted near his head. This is a natural and most beautiful coincidence. It would seem as if a faithful sentinel had taken his post, to watch, till the obliterated ashes should no longer need a friend. Could we associate with inanimate clay any of the feelings of sentient beings, who would not wish to rescue his remains from the prisons of mankind, and commit them thus to the embrace of nature?

Convenience, health, and decency require that the dead should be early removed from our sight. The law of nature requires that they should moulder into dust, and the sooner this change is accomplished, the better. This change should take place, not in the immediate contiguity of survivors, not in frequented receptacles provided for the promiscuous concentration of numbers, not where the intruding light may annually usher in a new tenant, to encroach upon the old. It should take place peacefully, silently, separately, in the retired valley or the sequestered wood, where the soil continues its primitive exuberance, and where the earth has not become too costly to afford to each occupant, at least his length and breadth.

Within the bounds of populous and growing cities, interments cannot with propriety take place beyond a limited extent. The vacant tracts reserved for burial grounds, and the cellars of churches which are converted into tombs, become glutted with inhabitants, and are in the end obliged to be abandoned, though not perhaps until the original tenants have been ejected, and the same space has been occupied three or four successive times. Necessity obliges a recourse at last to be had to the neighboring country, and hence in Paris, London, Liverpool, Leghorn, and other European cities, cemeteries have been constructed without the confines of their population. These places, in consequence of the sufficiency of the ground, and the funds which usually grow out of such establishments, have been made the recipients of tasteful ornament. Travellers are attracted by their beauty, and dwell with interest on their subsequent recollection. The scenes which, under most other circumstances, are repulsive and disgusting, are by the

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joint influence of nature and art rendered beautiful, attractive, and consoling.

The situation of Mount Auburn, near Boston, is one of great natural fitness for the objects to which it is devoted. It may be doubted whether any spot, which has been set apart for the same purposes in Europe, possesses half the interest in its original features. In a few years, when the hand of taste shall have scattered among the trees, as it has already begun to do, enduring memorials of marble and granite, a landscape of the most picturesque character will be created. No place in the environs of our city will possess stronger attractions to the visiter. To the mourner it offers seclusion, amid the consoling influences of nature. The moralist and man of religion will

> 'Find room
> And food for meditation, nor pass by
> Much, that may give him pause, if pondered fittingly.'

We regard the relics of our deceased friends and kindred, for what they have been, and not for what they are. We cannot keep in our presence the degraded image of the original frame, and if some memorial is necessary to soothe the unsatisfied want, which we feel when bereaved of their presence, it must be found in contemplating the place, in which we know that their dust is hidden. The history of mankind, in all ages, shows that the human heart clings to the grave of its disappointed wishes, that it seeks consolation in rearing emblems and monuments, and in collecting images of beauty over the disappearing relics of humanity. This can be fitly done, not in the tumultuous and harassing din of cities, not in the gloomy and almost unapproachable vaults of charnel houses;—but amidst the quiet verdure of the field, under the broad and cheerful light of heaven,—when the harmonious and ever changing face of nature reminds us by its resuscitating influences, that to die is but to live again.

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ART. VIII.—*Sparks's American Biography.*
The Library of American Biography. Conducted by JARED SPARKS. Vol. I. Boston. 1834.

THOSE, who have been in the habit of regarding the Americans as a plain, matter-of-fact, unimaginative race, may be disposed to question the truth of the remark, that there has never been a people, whose fortunes were invested with a more romantic interest. Nothing could be more full of exciting and sometimes almost startling change, than the great panorama of our country's progress, from her birthday to the present hour. We have before us the spectacle of two races, of opposite and very striking characters, brought into collision in the way best fitted to display their peculiar traits, and under circumstances requiring the exertion of their highest energies: of a handful of resolute individuals, erecting in the desert, not merely a temporary asylum for their own security, but the firm walls of a mighty and enduring empire, destined to exert a most momentous influence over the interests of the sons of men; of cities, lifting their spires and turrets amidst the gloom of the scarcely trodden forest; of the rich treasures of commerce, rolling in abundance to a shore, known only within a few generations to the charts of the adventurous mariner; of armies, marching forth to meet the hosts of powerful nations on the spot, where, but a century ago, the dead repose of the wilderness had been unbroken by the sounds of strife. These are but a few of the circumstances, which constitute the strongly marked peculiarity of our national progress; yet even these are quite unlike any thing else, which history had ever exhibited before, and are of far higher interest and attraction. Our fortunes have not resembled those of the Eternal City, whose towers were reared with the rewards of rapine, and whose dominion was sealed exclusively with blood: they are not like those of England, rising by the painful and slow gradations of successive centuries from the very depths of barbarism:—but they are those of a nation, starting from an advanced point to enter on the race of glory, and unfolding all the moral and physical capacities demanded by its new position, in the precise manner, and to the full extent, in which they were required.

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A national condition, thus novel in its aspect, must naturally give occasion to an exhibition of character, not often witnessed in the stages of national advancement. The scene of action is a vast one, and requires more than common energy in the personages of the drama. In such an enterprise as the building up of an empire, the erection of a noble and comprehensive system, without any charts to guide those who are employed in the achievement, without any models which they are to imitate, it is not enough, that the leaders should be gifted with commanding power: the centurions, the captains of fifty, and the captains of ten, must rely upon their own resources for the execution of their subordinate, but most important duty. They must have understanding to devise, as well as hands to execute; in those exigencies which constantly occur, where the file affords no precedent, their talent must find its own way, and they must meet every change of circumstances with whatever of spirit and ability, they are able to command. And it will be found, on the most cursory examination of our history, that every kind and degree of capacity have actually been displayed. At an early period, we see the high-souled chivalry of Smith,—the far discerning wisdom and fixed resolve of Winthrop,—the stout heart and vigorous arm of Standish,—and the various qualities of an almost countless host,—all employed, each in its appointed sphere, in accomplishing the different portions of the same great task. Coming down to later times, to the period of the Revolution, we are presented with even more striking illustrations of the force of individual character; they crowd upon the recollection of all who are familiar with our history.

We are led by these considerations to regard the work before us with more than common interest. It would be a very superfluous task, to explain the qualifications of Mr. Sparks for the labor which he has undertaken; apart from any others, the peculiar nature of his pursuits, the results of which are already before the public in many valuable forms, is such as to afford him unusual facilities for its proper execution. His plan embraces the lives of all persons, who have been distinguished in America, from the date of its first discovery to the present time. The completion of this scheme, as he very justly observes, 'would embrace a perfect history of the country, of its social and political progress, its arts, sciences, literature, and improvements of every kind; since these re-

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ceive their impulse and direction from a comparatively few eminent individuals, whose achievements of thought and action it is the province of the biographer to commemorate. A hint of such a result,' he proceeds, 'would certainly not be ventured by the editor, if he were not permitted to rely on the aid of a large number of coadjutors, whose names might afford a pledge of its attainment.' Whatever may be thought of the practicability of this scheme, in its full extent, no one can doubt its value, even should it be but partially executed; and if any thing were required to demonstrate its importance, we should find it in the volume, which is already finished. It is precisely such as we had wished and hoped to see; and it affords a happy augury of the character of those which are to follow. They will supply a very important deficiency in our literature. We do not mean to intimate, that the biography of eminent individuals in this country has been very much neglected; on the contrary, a vast number of memorials, from the kingly pyramid to the lowly headstone, have been already reared in memory of the honored dead; but there are many others, to whom a nation's gratitude is due, and to whom this debt of justice has not yet been paid; there are many, whose history is not yet recorded, or if it be so, not in such a form, as would be likely to survive them long. In the very volume before us, we find the lives of four individuals, of original character, of strong and peculiar traits, of decided claims to notice and remembrance, whose names required this commemoration, to give them their just place in the public view. We shall endeavor to give our readers an idea of its contents, by borrowing from it a brief sketch of the history of these individuals, together with such extracts as our limits will permit.

The first in the series is the biography of General John Stark, the well known hero of Bennington, whose adventures are here related by Mr. Edward Everett, with his usual elegance; and the account of them is full of interest. General Stark was one of those men of iron, formed by the harsh discipline of border warfare, who are insensible to fear, and indifferent to danger. He resided in early life at Derryfield, now Manchester, in New Hampshire. At the age of twenty-four, while on a hunting excursion at a distance from the English settlements, he was taken prisoner by the Indians, and soon overcame their prejudices and commanded their respect by the

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exhibition, partly from policy, and partly from his habitual contempt of peril, of those qualities which they recognised as the highest virtues. Several curious anecdotes, illustrative of this fact, are related in the volume. He was soon after ransomed; but he remained long enough in the somewhat unpleasant society of the Indians, to acquire a full acquaintance with their habits and character, and a familiarity with suffering and privation, which qualified him for the rough service in which he was subsequently to engage. In 1754, the Seven Years' War began: the great school, as Mr. Everett very justly terms it, in which were trained the leaders of the Revolution. An expedition against Crown Point was included in the plan of campaign for the following year, and Stark received the commission of lieutenant in a corps of rangers, enlisted for this purpose. He continued in the service until nearly the close of the war; rose very early to the rank of Captain; and exhibited throughout, in some very critical emergencies, the cool sagacity and daring bravery, which were among the leading traits of his character. The following anecdote sufficiently illustrates his possession of the former quality.

'In the month of March, 1757, Fort William Henry was saved by the forethought and vigilance of Captain Stark, then, in the absence of Major Rogers, acting Commander in Chief of the rangers. While going the rounds on the evening of the 16th, he overheard some of his rangers, planning a celebration of St. Patrick's (the following) day. A large portion of this corps was, like himself, of Irish origin. Knowing that there were also a great many Irish among the regular troops, he justly foresaw the danger to which the post would be exposed, at the close of a day to be spent in excess and intoxication. He accordingly gave directions to the sutler that no spirituous liquors should be issued, except by authority of written orders from himself; and when applied to for these orders, he pleaded the lameness of his wrist, produced by a wound, as an excuse for not giving them. In this way, he kept the rangers sober. The Irish troops of the regular army, forming a part of the garrison, celebrated the day with their accustomed license and excess. The French, acquainted with the Irish custom, and calculating upon the consequent disability of the garrison, planned an attack for that night. They were, however, repulsed by Stark's sober rangers, while the stupified regulars were coming to their senses.'—p. 34.

At the opening of the Revolution, Captain Stark did not

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hesitate to sacrifice all his emoluments and prospects as a British officer, by embracing and actively maintaining the patriotic cause; and he labored with extraordinary zeal in preparation for the conflict, which was coming on. His military talent and experience were too well known to be overlooked. On receiving the intelligence of the battle of Lexington, he hurried to the scene of action, with many volunteers from New Hampshire, who were shortly after formed into two regiments by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. The command of one of these was given to him; and, being stationed with his regiment at the rail-fence at the memorable battle of Bunker Hill, he exhibited anew the same cool bravery, for which he had now become distinguished. At Trenton and Princeton, also, he was by the side of Washington. In 1777, some junior officers, for what cause is not explained, were promoted over him, and he retired from the service; even then, he fitted out for the army all the members of his family who were old enough to join it, and continued to exhibit his attachment to the cause, by all the means remaining in his power. But this very neglect of Congress, which was then the subject of general regret, became the means of giving new lustre to his name.

The situation of the patriots was at this time very critical. Burgoyne, with his well-appointed army, was advancing from the north, and the important post of Ticonderoga was surrendered without a blow. The frontier was therefore left defenceless. It is animating to survey the conduct of New Hampshire in this exigency. The session of her Assembly was but lately terminated: but, at the summons of the Committee of Safety, it was convened anew; the whole militia of the State was formed into two brigades, the command of one of which was given to Stark; and he was ordered to march immediately at the head of a suitable force to stop the progress of the enemy on the frontier. He accepted the command, on the condition, that he should be responsible only to the authorities of New Hampshire; and it is a curious fact, that his refusal to march west of the Hudson, according to the orders of General Schuyler,—a refusal which was no less judicious in itself, than beneficial to the country,—was the means of placing him in a position to strike the vigorous and effective blow at Bennington. Burgoyne, confiding in his own strength or the weakness of his enemy, detached a body of troops, under the command of

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Lieut. Colonel Baum, with orders to obtain supplies for the army, to aid the efforts of the loyalists, and generally to disconcert the councils of the patriots. This detachment was put in motion at the very time when Stark arrived at Bennington. His dispositions were promptly made, and on the 14th of August, he met the enemy. On this and the following day, some skirmishing took place, but nothing at all decisive. The subsequent occurrences can be properly given only in the words of Mr. Everett.

'On the morning of the 16th, General Stark was joined by Col. Symonds, with a body of Berkshire militia, and made preparations for an attack, according to a plan proposed by the General and agreed upon in a council of war.

'The German troops, with their battery, were advantageously posted upon a rising ground at a bend in the Wollamsac (a tributary of the Hoosac,) on its north bank. The ground fell off to the north and west, a circumstance of which Stark skilfully took advantage. Peters's corps of Tories were intrenched on the other side of the stream, in lower ground, and nearly in front of the German battery. The little river, that meanders through the scene of the action, is fordable in all places. Stark was encamped upon the same side of it as the Germans, but, owing to its serpentine course, it crossed his line of march twice on his way to their position. Their post was carefully reconnoitred at a mile's distance, and the plan of attack was arranged in the following manner. Colonel Nichols, with two hundred men, was detached to attack the rear of the enemy's left, and Colonel Herrick, with three hundred men, to fall upon the rear of their right, with orders to form a junction before they made the assault. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney were also ordered to advance with two hundred men on their right and one hundred in front, to divert their attention from the real point of attack. The action commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon on the rear of the enemy's left, when Colonel Nichols, with great precision, carried into effect the dispositions of the commander. His example was followed by every other portion of the little army. General Stark himself moved forward slowly in front, till he heard the sound of the guns from Colonel Nichols's party, when he rushed upon the Tories, and in a few moments the action became general. "It lasted," says Stark, in his official report, "two hours, and was the hottest I ever saw. It was like one continued clap of thunder." The Indians, alarmed at the prospect of being enclosed between the parties of Nichols and Herrick, fled at the commencement of the action, their main principle of battle array

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being to contrive or to escape an ambush or an attack in the rear. The Tories were soon driven over the river, and were thus thrown in confusion on the Germans, who were forced from their breast-work. Baum made a brave and resolute defence. The German dragoons, with the discipline of veterans, preserved their ranks unbroken, and, after their ammunition was expended, were led to the charge by their Colonel with the sword: but they were overpowered and obliged to give way, leaving their artillery and baggage on the field.

'They were well enclosed in two breast-works, which, owing to the rain on the 15th, they had constructed at leisure. But notwithstanding this protection, with the advantage of two pieces of cannon, arms and ammunition in perfect order, and an auxiliary force of Indians, they were driven from their intrenchments by a band of militia just brought to the field, poorly armed, with few bayonets, without field pieces, and with little discipline. The superiority of numbers, on the part of the Americans, will, when these things are considered, hardly be thought to abate any thing from the praise due to the conduct of their commander, or the spirit and courage of his men.

'The enemy being driven from the field, the militia dispersed to collect the plunder. Scarcely had they done so, before intelligence was brought that a reinforcement from the British army was on the march, and within two miles' distance. This was the corps of Colonel Breyman, which had been despatched by General Burgoyne, on receiving from Baum intelligence of his position. The rain of the preceding day and the badness of the roads had delayed his arrival: a circumstance which exercised a very important influence on the fate of the battle. On the approach of Breyman's reinforcements, the flying party of Baum made a rally, and the fortune of the day was for a moment in suspense. Stark made an effort to rally the militia: but happily at this juncture, Colonel Warner's regiment came up fresh and not yet engaged, and fell with vigor upon the enemy.

'This regiment, since the battle fought at Hubbardston, had been stationed at Manchester. It had been reduced, by the loss sustained in that action, to less than two hundred men. Warner, their Colonel, as we have seen, was at Bennington, and was with General Stark on the 14th. The regiment at Manchester was under the command of Major Samuel Safford. In consequence of the absence of a large number of the men on a scouting party, and other causes, it was not possible to put the regiment in motion on the 14th; on the 15th they marched for Bennington. Owing to the heavy rain of that day, it was near midnight, when the troops arrived within a mile of Bennington. Fatigued with the march of the preceding day, their arms and equipments injured by

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the rain, and their ammunition scanty, a considerable portion of the ensuing day was exhausted, before the men could prepare themselves for battle. The first assault had been made in the manner described, and the enemy driven from the field, before this regiment came into action. At the most critical moment of the day, when the arrival of Breyman's reinforcement threatened a reverse of its good fortune, Warner's troops appeared on the field. Stark, with what men he had been able to rally, pushed forward to his assistance, and the battle was contested with great obstinacy on both sides till sunset, when the enemy were obliged to give way. General Stark pursued their flying forces until dark, and was obliged to draw off his men, to prevent them from firing at each other under cover of night. "With one hour more of daylight," as he writes in his official report, "he would have captured the whole body." The fruits of the victory were four pieces of brass cannon, several hundred stand of arms, eight brass drums, a quantity of German broadswords, and about seven hundred prisoners. Two hundred and seven were killed upon the spot; the number of the wounded was not ascertained. Colonel Baum was wounded and made a prisoner, and shortly after died of his wounds. The loss of the Americans was thirty killed and forty wounded.'—pp. 84—89.

'Several anecdotes of this affair have been recorded, and the following deserves a repetition. Among the reinforcements from Berkshire county came a clergyman, with a portion of his flock, resolved to make bare the arm of flesh against the enemies of the country. Before daylight on the morning of the 16th, he addressed the commander as follows. "We the people of Berkshire, have been frequently called upon to fight, but have never been led against the enemy. We have now resolved, if you will not let us fight, never to turn out again." General Stark asked him "if he wished to march then, when it was dark and rainy." "No," was the answer. "Then," continued Stark, "if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come again." The weather cleared up in the course of the day, and the men of Berkshire followed their spiritual guide into action.'—p. 97.

The consequences of this battle were no less striking, than the skill and conduct of the conqueror. Burgoyne's operations were completely paralyzed, and, in the following month, he capitulated with his army. Stark received the thanks of his own State, and of Congress, and was immediately reinstated in the Continental service, in which he continued until the close of the active period of the war. The remainder of his life

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presents no incident of material importance; he died in 1822, at the age of ninety-four, having survived all the generals of the Revolution, with the single exception of Sumpter. His history is, however, very interesting and instructive; it shows how much may be effected by resolute patriotism, under circumstances of the most unfavorable character; and we are happy that it has been at length presented to the public in the very attractive form, in which every thing from the pen of Mr. Everett is sure to be invested.

The life of Charles Brockden Brown is the second of the series; and presents us, in the history of an amiable and retiring scholar, with a striking contrast to the adventure of the bold and active partisan. It is written by Mr. William H. Prescott, and executed with great discrimination, as well as with his usual taste and elegance. We are inclined to believe that the merit of Brown is not, at this day, fully appreciated: the circumstances of the country, particularly as relates to literature, are so altered since his time, that we can hardly represent him to our fancy as entering upon a scarcely trodden track, and, though acquiring reputation, deserving even more than he acquired. Though gentle as a child, and with more than just humility in his estimation of his own deserts, there was something bold and original in his character; his tastes and pursuits were formed by solitary musing, instead of being stimulated by the example or success of others. In the outset of his career, this spirit of independence led him into the adoption and defence of many wild theories; but his natural good sense found its own way, and he returned to the true path, as the tempest-tost vessel, after falling for a moment from her course, again obeys her helm, and walks in triumph on the sea. He was one of those, who take more pleasure in communion with their own hearts, or with the visible world, than with their fellow men; a deep shade of melancholy, the result perhaps of constant bodily infirmity, hung over him; and he fled to literary engagements rather as a relief, than as a welcome task. His melancholy and retirement were not, however, of that kind, which render the soul insensible to any happiness or suffering but its own. Mr. Prescott has given a delightful picture of his character and social feelings, particularly at the period, when, after having accomplished many of the purposes of life, he was sinking to the grave by slow decay. The false opinions, by which his earlier years were overclouded, had

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then yielded to the convictions of his manly and discriminating intellect; and he went to his rest, not only in the full persuasion of religious truth, but exhibiting a fine example of its power.

It is upon Brown's romances, that his fame will principally rest, though they were evidently written with little care, and with a rapidity which gave no indication, that he expected from them much success. Wieland, the first of them, was published in 1798, when he was at the age of twenty-seven. This was some time prior to the period, which may be not inappropriately termed the era of romances. They were then the reader's luxury, rather than his daily bread; the embroidery, and not the texture of the literary garment. The sentimental novel had not yet made its first ascension; and the historical romance was still to be discovered. As far as he can be said to have followed any model, it is Godwin; though even here, as his biographer remarks with truth, there is no servile imitation: the resemblance consists rather in some characteristics of style and subject, than in the substance; and it is worthy of remark, that these are the precise qualities in which he least excels. His leading defect is a want of taste, rather than of power; he wished to make an anatomical dissection of the heart, to develope all its qualities and passions; but he forgot, that processes of this sort, however valuable their results may be, are not remarkably poetical. In laboring to be striking, he lost sight of truth and nature. There was a fearful grandeur in his exhibition of the soul, driven onward by resistless passion; but the different portions of the picture are not in perfect keeping, and the imperfection of some impairs the effect and impression of the rest. The real secret of the art was yet to be revealed; Scott, perhaps, was the first to disclose it: it was, that the heroes of romance may live and move and act like other men, without ceasing to be heroes. The error of Brown consisted in his acting on a false theory; but it is perhaps the strongest proof which could be given of his real power, that, be his imperfections what they may, his works are still read with admiration, if not with pleasure, and that, even while we most regret the selection of his subjects, we are not the less impressed with respect for the talent of the writer. A remark of nearly the same kind is applicable to his style; it sometimes repels us by its affectation, or offends us by its want of taste: but it is manly and peculiar, and when the subject rises to a certain level, is full of life and strength.

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Mr. Prescott, though a liberal biographer, has not suffered his partialities to render him insensible to the defects of this amiable writer; he has, on the contrary, pointed out several of them with great taste and judgment, in commenting upon the romances. His remarks on Wieland, in particular, are a model of judicious criticism. In this tale, the whole machinery is set in motion by the agency of ventriloquism; the hero is thus wrought up to the murder of his wife and children, the secret agent all the while being actuated by no other apparent motive, than a wanton spirit of mischief. The improbability here is too violent for the credulity of the easiest believer. We are led onward by the strong painting of fiery passion to the close, but when we have reached it, we are equally ill-satisfied with the author and ourselves. It is but just to say, however, that all these tales were written before the author reached the age of thirty-four, and that the residue of his life was devoted to other labors, in the field of politics and general literature. In the year 1809, the illness, which had so long attended him, began to assume a more serious aspect, and, being very averse to foreign travel, he made some journeys with the faint hope of restoration. The account of the conclusion of his life will best be given in the words of Mr. Prescott.

'Finding these brief excursions productive of no salutary change in his health, he at length complied with the entreaties of his friends, and determined to try the effect of a voyage to Europe in the following spring. That spring he was doomed never to behold. About the middle of November, he was taken with a violent pain in his left side, for which he was bled. From that time forward he was confined to his chamber. His malady was not attended with the exemption from actual pain, with which nature seems sometimes willing to compensate the sufferer for the length of its duration. His sufferings were incessant and acute; and they were supported, not only without a murmur, but with an appearance of cheerfulness, to which the hearts of his friends could but ill respond. He met the approach of death in the true spirit of Christian philosophy. No other dread, but that of separation from those dear to him on earth, had power to disturb his tranquillity for a moment. But the temper of his mind in his last hours is best disclosed in a communication from that faithful partner, who contributed, more than any other, to support him through them. "He always felt for others more than for himself; and the evidences of sorrow in those around him, which could not at all times be suppressed, appeared to affect

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him more than his own sufferings. Whenever he spoke of the probability of a fatal termination of his disease, it was in an indirect and covered manner, as "you must do so and so, when I am absent," or "when I am asleep." He surrendered not up one faculty of his soul but with his last breath. He saw death in every step of his approach, and viewed him as a messenger that brought with him no terrors. He frequently expressed his resignation; but his resignation was not produced by apathy or pain; for while he bowed with submission to the Divine will, he felt with the keenest sensibility his separation from those who made this world but too dear to him. Towards the last he spoke of death without disguise, and appeared to wish to prepare his friends for the event, which he felt to be approaching. A few days previous to his change, as sitting up in the bed, he fixed his eyes upon the sky, and desired not to be spoken to until he first spoke. In this position, and with a serene countenance, he continued for some minutes, and then said to his wife, "when I desired you not to speak to me, I had the most transporting and sublime feelings I have ever experienced: I wanted to enjoy them and know how long they would last;" concluding with requesting her to remember the circumstance.

'A visible change took place in him on the morning of the 19th of February, 1810; and he caused his family to be assembled around his bed, when he took leave of each one of them in the most tender and impressive manner. He lingered however a few days longer, remaining in the full possession of his faculties, to the 22d of the month, when he expired without a struggle. He had reached the thirty-ninth year of his age, the month preceding his death. The family which he left, consisted of a widow and four children.'

'There was nothing striking in Brown's personal appearance. His manners, however, were distinguished by a gentleness and unaffected simplicity, which rendered them extremely agreeable. He possessed colloquial powers, which do not always fall to the lot of the practised and ready writer. His rich and various acquisitions supplied an unfailing fund for the edification of his hearers. They did not lead him, however, to affect an air of superiority, or to assume too prominent a part in the dialogue, especially in large or mixed company, where he was rather disposed to be silent, reserving the display of his powers for the unrestrained intercourse of friendship. He was a stranger, not only to base and malignant passions, but to the paltry jealousies which sometimes sour the intercourse of men of letters. On the contrary, he was ever prompt to do ample justice to the merits of others. His heart was warm with the feeling of universal be-

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nevolence. Too sanguine and romantic views had exposed him to some miscalculations, and consequent disappointments; from which, however, he was subsequently retrieved by the strength of his understanding, which, combining with what may be called his natural education of soul, enabled him to settle the soundest principles for the regulation of his opinions and conduct in after life.'—pp. 170–173.

Such were the last hours, and such the character of one, to whom his countrymen have scarcely yet been just; who cultivated literature, at a time when literature in this country had few rewards or honors to bestow; and who amply merits the still higher praise, of adding to his literary ardor a still warmer zeal for manly sentiment and virtue.

We next turn to the history of the chivalrous Montgomery, one of the earliest and noblest victims of the Revolutionary cause; and the purity of style in which General Armstrong has related it, only increases our regret, that so little is remembered of his short, but honorable career. Short as it was, it acquired for him an enviable name; at a period when noble qualities were by no means rare, he was distinguished by his combination of the sterner with the gentler virtues; and though he perished at the very opening of the war, and in the moment of disaster, his loss was universally regarded as a public calamity. The story of his life is briefly told. He was born in 1736, at Raphoe, in the north of Ireland. At the age of eighteen, he procured a commission in the British army, and began his career of active service in this country; the regiment to which he belonged being attached to the expedition, prepared in 1758, for the capture of Louisburg. In this enterprise, and in two subsequent expeditions for the reduction of St. Pierre and Fort Royal, in Martinico, and of Havana in Cuba, his bravery and talent were equally conspicuous. From the period intervening between the termination of the war, and his retirement from the army in 1772, nothing relating to his personal history appears to have been preserved; and there is no evidence, excepting that of vague tradition, of the causes which induced him to retire; it is rumored, that it was in consequence of a persuasion, that the agency of government was twice employed to prevent him from procuring a majority. Immediately afterwards, he came over to this country, and devoted himself to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, until in April, 1775, he was elected a member of the first Provincial Con-

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vention held in New York. Two months afterwards, when the National Congress began to organize an army, the commission of a brigadier-general was bestowed on him. The attention of that body was very early directed towards the invasion of Canada: it was proposed to effect this object by two routes, one by the Sorel, the other by the Kennebec; and for these purposes, two armaments were formed, the more important of which, designed for the first mentioned route, was assigned to General Montgomery. The history of his efforts to accomplish this enterprise is very generally known: in two months from the time of his departure from Ticonderoga, he entered Montreal, and though laboring under the discouragements arising from the inadequacy of his means, prepared himself for the great object of his hopes, the reduction of Quebec. He determined, if possible, to effect this by an attack in the night-time on the lower town; and we give the history of this assault, and its unfortunate result, in the animated language of the author.

'The troops were ordered to parade in three divisions in the morning of the 31st of December; the New York regiments and part of Easton's Massachusetts militia, at Holland House; the Cambridge detachments and Lamb's company of artillerists, with one field piece, at Captain Morgan's quarters; and the two small corps of Livingston and Brown, at their respective grounds of parade. To the first and second of these divisions were assigned the two assaults, to be made on opposite sides of the lower town; and to the third, a series of demonstrations or feigned attacks on the opposite sides of the upper. Under these orders the movement began between three and four o'clock in the morning, from the heights of Abraham; Montgomery advancing at the head of the first division by the river road, round the foot of Cape Diamond to Aunce au Mere; and Arnold, at the head of the second, through the suburbs of St. Roque, to the Saut des Matelots. Both columns found the roads much obstructed by snow: but to this obstacle on the route taken by Montgomery were added huge masses of ice, thrown up from the river, and so narrowing the passage round the foot of the promontory, as greatly to retard the progress, and disturb the order of the march. These difficulties being at last surmounted, the first barrier was approached, vigorously attacked, and rapidly carried. A moment, and but a moment, was now employed to re-excite the ardor of the troops, which the fatigue of the march and the severity of the weather had somewhat abated. "Men of New York," exclaim-

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ed Montgomery, "you will not fear to follow where your General leads,—march on;" then placing himself again in the front, he pressed eagerly forward to the second barrier, and when but a few paces from the mouths of the British cannon, received three wounds, which instantly terminated his life and his labors. 'Thus fell, in the first month of his fortieth year, Major General Richard Montgomery.'

It is needless to add, that this event decided the fortune of the day; the subsequent efforts served only vainly to display the gallantry of the assailing army. The corpse of Montgomery was interred within the walls of the city, which he had nearly made his own; all hostile recollections yielded to the respect and admiration due to a gallant and honorable foe. The following is the estimate of his character and personal qualities, which is formed by his biographer.

'In this brief story of a short and useful life, we find all the elements which enter into the composition of a great man and distinguished soldier; "a happy physical organization, combining strength and activity, and enabling its possessor to encounter laborious days and sleepless nights, hunger and thirst, all changes of weather, and every variation of climate." To these corporal advantages was added a mind, cool, discriminating, energetic and fearless; thoroughly acquainted with mankind, not uninstructed in the literature and science of the day, and habitually directed by a high and unchangeable moral sense. That a man so constituted, should have won "the golden opinions" of friends and foes, is not extraordinary. The most eloquent men of the British Senate became his panegyrists; and the American Congress hastened to testify for him "their grateful remembrance, profound respect, and high veneration." A monument to his memory was accordingly erected, on which might justly be inscribed the impressive lines of the poet.

"Brief, brave and glorious was his young career:
His mourners were two hosts, his friends and foes;
And fitly may the stranger, lingering here,
Pray for his gallant spirit's bright repose;
For he was Freedom's champion, one of those,
The few in number, who had not o'erstept
The charter to chastise, which she bestows
On such as wield her weapons; he had kept
The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept."'

The volume closes with another striking contrast, in the biography of that extraordinary personage, Ethan Allen; who added very few of the graces of chivalry to his iron nerve

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and unconquerable spirit. This is the production of Mr. Sparks, who has brought to light many particulars of Allen's history not generally known, and presented them in a very clear and interesting narrative. The precise time of his birth is not ascertained, but, with several other members of his family, he emigrated in early life, from Connecticut, his native State, to the New Hampshire Grants, which have since been erected into the flourishing State of Vermont. The title to these Grants had long been the subject of controversy between New Hampshire and New York; Wentworth, the royal governor of the former, had issued patents, under which tracts had been sold to a great number of settlers, among whom were Allen and his brothers. New York, in order to assert her claim, granted new patents to other persons, covering the same lands on which the grantees of New Hampshire had established themselves; and a series of difficulties forthwith arose, which were not quieted for many years. Allen, whose boldness and energy gave him a strong ascendancy over the minds of those around him, took a very leading part in the vindication of what they deemed their legal rights. We have not room to relate the history of these transactions. The settlers, or, as they were called, Green Mountain Boys, resisted the New York claim in the courts of Albany, but the judgments of the courts being unhesitatingly pronounced against them, they took decisive means to prevent their execution, by dispossessing those who entered under them, and treating the civil officers with the least imaginable ceremony. We may perceive to what extent the exasperation on both sides was carried, from the fact, that a proclamation was early issued by the Governor of New York, offering a reward of twenty pounds for the apprehension of Allen, and that of eight other persons, who were associated with him. A law of a most remarkable character was enacted by the Assembly of New York, in opposition to the same individuals. This law began with naming Allen and several others; it then empowered the Governor and Council to issue an order, requiring these persons to surrender themselves to justice; if they neglected to do this, they were to be adjudged and taken as convicted, and to suffer death if indicted for a capital offence, and the Supreme Court was empowered to award execution, in the same manner as if there had been an actual trial and sentence. As Allen himself remarked, these printed sentences of death were not partic-

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ularly fatal, but it is difficult to say to what extent the contest would have been carried, had not the Revolutionary troubles at this time begun to absorb all others.

The capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which was effected by parties from Connecticut and the New Hampshire Grants, with Allen at their head, gave an indication of the spirit with which he was about to enter on the new scene of conflict. When this had been accomplished, he took command of the former post, and began to meditate the conquest of Canada; an enterprise, the credit of suggesting which belongs to him, and which, had it been undertaken by Congress with more activity and vigor, would not improbably have proved successful. A regiment of Green Mountain Boys was raised, under the authority of the Provincial Congress of New York, to be connected with the army: for some reason, not now remembered, Allen did not receive the command of it, but attached himself to General Schuyler's army as a volunteer. He was first employed to circulate an address, issued by the General, among the inhabitants of Canada, and to ascertain their disposition; this commission he executed in a very satisfactory manner; and he next proceeded to raise a corps of Canadian volunteers, with which he was about to join the army of Montgomery, now the leader of the Canada expedition, when, at the suggestion of Major Brown, whom he encountered at the head of another party, he was induced to lend his aid in an attack on Montreal. The plan was laid, and Allen's part of it was faithfully performed; but as Brown did not adhere to his, Allen was compelled to surrender. General Prescott, the commander of the British force at Montreal, after threatening him with a halter at Tyburn, gave orders that he should be bound hand and foot, and sent on board a vessel of war. With his ankles confined in shackles, to which was attached a bar of iron eight feet long, and with his hands in fetters, he was accordingly thrust into the lowest part of the vessel, without a bed or any article of furniture. In this condition he was taken to Quebec, where he was transferred for the moment to the charge of a gentleman, who removed his irons; but when Arnold appeared with his army in the neighborhood of that city, he was placed on board another vessel, manacled as before, and sent to England. During this voyage of forty days, Allen and thirty-three others, in fetters like himself, were confined in a single apartment, which they were not once per-

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mitted to leave. On his arrival in England, he was still suffered to remain in irons, though he was treated with somewhat less harshness.

'Notwithstanding the comparative amelioration of his circumstances, Colonel Allen's mind was not perfectly at ease in regard to the future. General Prescott's hint about his gracing a halter at Tyburn, rested upon his thoughts, and gave him some uneasiness amidst the uncertain prospects now before him. But despondency and fear made no part of his character, and, even when hope failed, his fortitude was triumphant. Prepared for the worst that might happen, he bethought himself of trying the effect of a stratagem. He asked permission to write a letter to the Continental Congress, which was granted. He depicted in vivid colors the treatment he had received from the beginning of his captivity, but advised the Congress not to retaliate, till the fate that awaited him in England should be known, and then to execute the law of retaliation not in proportion to the small influence of his character in America, but to the extent demanded by the importance of the cause for which he had suffered. The despatch was finished, and handed over for inspection to the officer, who had permitted him to write. This officer went to him the next day, and reprimanded him for what he called the impudence of inditing such an epistle. "Do you think we are fools in England," said he, "and would send your letter to Congress with instructions to retaliate on our own people? I have sent your letter to Lord North." This was precisely the destination for which the writer intended it, and he felt a secret satisfaction that his artifice had succeeded.'—pp. 304-5.

It seems almost incredible at this day, that an individual, whose only offence consisted in his having fought the battles of his country, should have been thus dealt with by the officers of a civilized and enlightened nation; but patriotism was not then a pardonable offence; it bore the united names of treason and rebellion. Owing however, either to the reprobation in which this severity was generally held, or to the menaces of retaliation, the British Government at length resolved to treat Allen and his companions as prisoners of war, and send them to their country. On his return, and until the period of his final release, he had an additional measure of harsh usage and privation to undergo, which would have broken a less stern and haughty spirit. The whole term of his captivity was two years and seven months. 'Insensibility,' as Mr. Sparks observes, 'made no part of his nature,' and the following inci-

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dent, which occurred towards the close of his imprisonment, deserves to be recorded, as illustrative of his character.

'The Lark frigate, on board of which were Mr. Lovell, Colonel Allen and their companions, sailed from Halifax about the middle of October. Luckily they found themselves at last under an officer, Captain Smith, who treated them with the politeness of a gentleman, and with the feelings of a man capable of sympathizing in the distresses of the unfortunate. The first interview is thus described by Colonel Allen. "When I came on deck, he met me with his hand, welcomed me to his ship, invited me to dine with him that day, and assured me that I should be treated as a gentleman, and that he had given orders that I should be treated with respect by the ship's crew. This was so unexpected and sudden a transition, that it drew tears from my eyes, which all the ill usages I had before met with were not able to produce; nor could I at first hardly speak, but soon recovered myself, and let him know that I felt anxiety of mind in reflecting, that his situation and mine were such, that it was not probable it would ever be in my power to return the favor. Captain Smith replied, that he had no reward in view, but only treated me as a gentleman ought to be treated. He said, this is a mutable world, and one gentleman never knows but it may be in his power to help another."

'An opportunity soon occurred of verifying this last remark. They had not been at sea many days, when it was discovered that a conspiracy was on foot to destroy the Captain and the principal officers, and seize the ship. An American captain, who had commanded an armed vessel, and been recently taken prisoner, was the chief conspirator. He revealed his designs to Colonel Allen and Mr. Lovell, requesting their coöperation in bringing over the other prisoners, about thirty in number, and telling them that several of the crew were ready to join in the plot. It was known that there were thirty-five thousand pounds in money in the vessel, and the plan of the conspirators was to take the ship into an American port, where they expected to divide the booty according to the usual rules of captures. Without waiting to discuss the laws of war, or to reason about the infamy and criminality of such an act with men, who were prepared to execute it, Colonel Allen declared with his usual decision and vehemence, that he would not listen a moment to such a scheme; that, in its mildest character, it was a base and wicked return for the kind treatment they had received, and that he would at every personal hazard defend Captain Smith's life. This rebuff was unexpected by the conspirators, and it threw them into a dis-

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tressing dilemma, since the fear of detection was now as appalling to them as the danger of their original enterprise. They then requested him to remain neutral, and let them proceed in their own way, but this he peremptorily refused: and he finally succeeded in quelling the conspiracy, by adhering to his resolution, and promising, that, as he had been consulted in confidence, he would not divulge the matter, if the leaders would pledge themselves instantly to abandon the design. In the present state of things they were glad to accept such terms. At the conclusion of this affair, Colonel Allen was forcibly reminded of the words of Captain Smith.'—pp. 315–317.

Congress endeavored to repair the wrongs of one who had thus suffered in their cause, by granting him a brevet commission of colonel in the Continental army; but it is not known that he entered upon actual service. The flame of the old controversy between Vermont and New York had burst forth anew, and Allen, as before, engaged in the conflict with his whole heart and soul; laboring, haranguing and writing, with abundant zeal and with no small effect, in the old and familiar cause. His fellow-citizens expressed their sense of the value of his aid, by appointing him general and commander in chief of the militia of the State, a station, at that time, of great responsibility. Propositions were made him by the enemy, to detach Vermont from her allegiance; these he communicated to Congress, and continued to defend the interests of his State and country until the conclusion of the war, when he retired to private life, and devoted himself to the occupation of a farmer. But his pursuits were not exclusively of this character. In 1784, he published a work, which his biographer denominates 'a crude and worthless performance, in which truth and error, reason and sophistry, knowledge and ignorance, ingenuity and presumption, are mingled together in a chaos, which the author denominates a system.' In this production, which he entitled a Compendious System of Natural Religion, he argues that the Christian Revelation and the Old Testament are false, while he declares his belief in a future state of reward and punishment. He appears, in fact, to have embraced the principles of deism. The short residue of his life was not distinguished by any important incident. He died at Burlington, in 1789.

This biography furnishes a striking instance, if any such were wanting, of the industry and talent with which Mr. Sparks

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illustrates every subject on which he is employed. There is a great variety of interesting detail in this article, to which we have found no space, even to allude. It is, however, an act of justice to the memory of Ethan Allen to say, that his biographer has formed a more favorable estimate of his character, than has been generally entertained. His roughness of manner and coarseness, his presumption and skepticism, though not to be defended, are yet palliated by the circumstances of his early education and condition. On the other hand, he was frank and generous; courageous in the most emphatic sense of the word; benevolent and kind in his private relations, and in his public ones, firm, honest and true.

It is stated by the editor in his preface, that this beginning is only an experiment, to be pursued or laid aside as circumstances may dictate. He proposes to publish four volumes within the compass of a year; and should sufficient encouragement be afforded, to continue the work by the publication of a volume quarterly. We are reluctant to believe, that encouragement, for such a work, will be likely to be wanting; the subject recommends itself to the attention of all readers, and the execution thus far justifies, in all respects, the highest expectations for the future.

ART. IX.—*Memoir of John Cotton.*

Memoir of John Cotton, by John Norton, with a Preface and Notes. By ENOCH POND, Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary of Bangor, Maine. Boston. 1834.

THIS is a reprint of a morsel of biography, which time had made scarce, exhibiting a brief memoir of one of the earliest and most honored of the Fathers of New England, written by his successor in the ministry, and in some large measure, the successor, also, to his honors and fame. Dr. Cotton Mather, who never failed in his own way to gather what advantage he could from a name, ranked him as the first of the four celebrated Johns,* to whom was afterwards added a fifth,—who, as

* John Cotton died in 1652. John Norton in 1663. John Wilson in 1667. John Davenport in 1670, and John Oxenbridge in 1674.

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colleagues or successors, shone as lights in the ancient church in Boston, and in whose characters, according to their respective gifts and graces, he finds, or thinks he finds, a resemblance to their great Scriptural prototypes, the Baptist and the Evangelist. Those who are conversant with the writings of Mather will easily believe, that the resemblance is more fanciful than real, a circumstance, which in no wise diminishes the writer's delight in pursuing it. But without this doubtful help from imagination, no one will deny, that these five Johns were truly good and venerable men; the two first, the author and the subject of this memoir, were for their genius, learning, and influence the most eminent. In having Norton for his eulogist, Cotton, therefore, found the felicity coveted by all, to whom an honorable fame is precious, 'laudari a laudato viro.' Yet had we no other evidence of Mr. Norton's abilities but the little work before us, we should be slow to concede to him the place, which the unanimous testimony of his contemporaries, and the unquestionable merit of some of his theological productions challenge for him.* Of the specimens of biography it has been our fortune to peruse, this must be counted with the most meagre and unsatisfactory. The smallness of its size, scarcely reaching to an hundred diminutive pages, precluded ample details, but cannot excuse its extreme defectiveness. It is strangely wanting in dates,—a want not felt by the careless reader, but fatal in a memoir,

* Mr. Norton, according to Mather, was the author of the first Latin book, that ever appeared in this country; and this, taking the less questionable testimony of Dr. John Eliot, 'was written in pure elegant Latin.' It appears that in 1644, Apollonius, a Dutch clergyman, in behalf of some divines of Zealand, sent to New England a number of questions concerning the forms of church government here. At the unanimous request of his brethren, Mr. Norton, then in his retired situation at Ipswich, undertook the reply, which he accomplished in the course of the following year; and to judge of its merit we may quote, says Dr. Eliot in his biography, the words of Mr. Fuller in his Ecclesiastical History, 'Of all the authors I have perused concerning those opinions, none to me was more informative than John Norton, one of no less learning than modesty, in his answer to Apollonius, pastor of the church in Middleburg.' Mr. Norton, besides several other productions, which obtained credit for their learning, wrote the 'Orthodox Evangelist,' highly recommended by Cotton; and in the synod, which met at Cambridge in 1647, he '*revealed*,' says Mr. Emerson in his history of the First Church, 'an unusual acquaintance with school divinity. It was by him that the Cambridge Platform was modelled and recommended.'

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and next to unpardonable with a lover of accuracy, while it abounds with conceits, after the worst fashion of the pedantry of the day. Even within the narrow limits of this little book, the writer is perpetually wandering from his subject in chase of some obscure allusion or quaint resemblance, leaving his reader to find out, as he may, the year of Mr. Cotton's birth, of his education at the University, of his ordination and ministry in Old England, and of his removal to the New. The dates of these, and other passages of like interest in the lives of any individual worthy of a memoir, are altogether omitted, to be guessed at only by the date of his death; while with a perverse sort of accuracy, the writer does not fail to set down the precise period of the appearance of a comet, which, he instructs us, preceded the furies of the enthusiasts in Germany in 1533. And having remarked, that we have many instances of dissension in religion, and heresies following upon these meteors, he adds, with a charity altogether in keeping with his philosophy, 'The genuine offspring of those enthusiastic furies is that generation commonly known by the name of Quakers.' We do not wonder at his editor's friendly interposition, by a note upon this passage, to excuse the somewhat doubtful theories of his author. For, as Mr. Pond observes, 'among the phenomena of the heavens, none have been regarded with more superstitious apprehension than comets; and it is no discredit to such men as Cotton and Norton, that they partook of the general feeling of their age.'*

As an example of the author's directness in relating facts, we extract the following sentences, designed to inform the reader of the place of Mr. Cotton's birth.

'His birth-place, *Derby*, we shall not detain the reader at, though a scituation in respect of the purity, and frequent agitation of the air, attempered (in the judgment of the orator) for the breeding of better wits. Creatures are in their kind subservient; but, tis God, (not the air) who puts wisdom into the inward parts, and giveth understanding to the heart. As the wise man and the fool die, so are they both ordinarily born in the same place. The glory of every good and perfect gift is reserved for the Father of lights. Let it be sufficient to acknowledge both the place an honor to the person, and the person an honor

* Note p. 107.

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to the place. What *Basil* sometime commended in the *Martyrs*, the same is to be looked at in our confessor (or martyr, which you please) namely, that his praise is not to be derived from his country here below, wherein he was born, but from his relation unto that *Hierusalem* which is above, where he was instrumentally born again, according unto grace.'

He thus also sets forth the method of Mr. Cotton's education:

'Though vain man would be wise, yet may he be compared to the cubb, as well as to the wild asses colt. Now we know the bear, when she bringeth forth her young ones, they are an ill-favored lump, a masse without shape, but by continuall licking they are brought to some form. Children are called infants of the palms, or educations, not because they are but a span in length, but because the midwife, as soon as they are born, stretcheth out their joints with her hand, that they may be more straight afterwards.

'This care in the parents was quickly above expectation encouraged in the first-fruits of their young son's proficiency, more and more increasing great hopes concerning him throughout the whole time of his minority, wherein he was trained up in the grammar-school of *Derby*. Three ingredients *Aristotle* requires to compleat a man: an innate excellency of wit, instruction, and government. The two last we have by nature, though in them man is instrumental: the first we have by nature more immediately from God. This native aptitude of mind, which is indeed a peculiar gift of God, the naturalist calls the sparklings and seeds of vertue, and looks at them as the principles and foundation of better education. These, the godly-wise advise such to whom the inspection of youth is committed, to attend unto; as spring-masters are wont to take a tryal of the vertue latent in waters, by the morning-vapors that ascend from them. The husbandman perceiving the nature of the soyle, fits it with suitable seed.

'A towardly disposition is worse than lost without education. The first impression sinks deep, and abides long. The manners and learning of the scholar, depend not a little upon the manners and teaching of the master. Physicians tell us, that the fault of the first concoction is not corrigible by the second; and experience sheweth, that errors committed in youth, through defect of education, are difficultly cured in age. *Mephibosheth* halteth all his life-long, of the lameness he got through his nurses carelessness when he was a child. In the piety of *England's Edward* the sixth, and *Elizabeth*, history ingenuously and thankfully ac-

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knowledgeth the eminent influence of their tutors: but amongst the causes of *Julian's* apostacie, the same remembrancer mentioneth it as a principal one, that he had two heathenish masters, *Libanius* and *Iambticus*, from whom he drank in great prophaneness. The best soil needs both tilling and sowing; there must be culture as well as seed, or you can expect no harvest. What son is he, that the father chasteneth not? And that our daughters may be as corner-stones, palace-stones, and (albeit the weaker vessels, yet) vessels of precious treasure, they must be carved, that is, suffer the cutting, engraving, and polishing hand of the artificer.'

In truth, it must be confessed, that the only value of this little book was its scarceness; and *that* it has now lost by the re-publication; having this in common with many other things of this world ignorantly or unduly valued, that the delusion vanishes with acquaintance. 'Omne ignotum pro magnifico.' It had quite disappeared from the shops. It was not found on the shelves of collectors, nor in some of our most extensive public libraries. The curious eye might possibly have discovered a copy, where it has sometimes been our fortune to find old books of New England, that we had elsewhere sought in vain, in the worm-eaten trunks or ancient book-cases of octogenarians, descending as heir-looms from one generation to another, in the vicinity of that once court-end of the town, North Square, or Winnisimmet Ferry. So that, though it should not prove quite so rare as Mr. Pond supposes,* as far as scarceness makes precious it might be said to be valuable. Nor do we regret the diminution of this value, by the putting forth of a new edition. It is a little monument of olden times in a comely dress, and reveals to us for our comfort how wretchedly some learned men, skilled in theology, can write biography. Whoever wishes to know the history and character of Cotton may find them far more satisfactorily exhibited in Mr. Savage's edition of the journal of Governor Winthrop, than which few books are better fitted to instruct or delight; in the copious memoir in the Magnalia, by Cotton Mather, who, with all his conceits, fails not either of fullness or accuracy in dates and facts; in Emerson's history of the First Church; and, lastly, in the biographical dictionaries of Dr.

* One copy is preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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Eliot and of President Allen. Here, he will find at once, what he will search for in vain in this volume, all that is essential to the history of Cotton's life.

John Cotton was born in Derby, England, in 1584; his parents were of high respectability and reputation; they early discovered and cherished his gifts, and were happy in living long enough to reap the fruits of their care in witnessing the usefulness and reputation of their son. Young Cotton was first admitted as a student of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards became a fellow of Emanuel. While there, his skill in languages, especially in the Hebrew, (of which he gave some signal testimony during his examination, in which he translated readily the third chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, containing the unusual terms of female dress,) the soundness and comprehensiveness of his learning and his eloquence as a preacher gave him a commanding reputation. He was settled in 1613, at the age of twenty-eight, in Boston, Lincolnshire, where, amidst various discouragements and persecutions, he exercised an able and acceptable ministry for twenty years. His eminent abilities and character obtained for him the favor of the Earl of Dorchester and of Bishop Williams, then also keeper of the great seal, who recommended him to the king. Even the influence of these powerful friends did not long avail to protect him from the growing hatred against non-conformists. He was compelled to flee from his persecutors in Lincolnshire, and after concealment for some months in London, he arrived in New England, September 4, 1633, in company with other eminent divines, of whom were Hooker, afterwards of Newton, and Stone of Hartford. The names of these worthies, in those days of straits and conceits, suggested to their brethren the comfortable assurance, that they had now Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building.

Cotton's reputation had preceded him, and his services were of too much value not to be immediately employed. In little more than a month after his arrival, viz. in October 1633, he was established as teacher of the First Church in Boston, and as colleague with Wilson, who was already the Pastor. Here also, amidst great reputation and usefulness,—a reputation unobscured but for a short season by the part he was supposed to take in the perplexing controversy occasioned by the vagaries of Mrs. Hutchinson, in whose 'familistical' or antinomian

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notions he was suspected of sympathising, and who was fain to shelter herself under the protection of his name,—he passed a faithful and honored ministry of more than nineteen years, until his death, occasioned by a cold caught in crossing the ferry to Cambridge, where he was engaged to preach. This event happened December 23, 1652, in the 57th year of his age, and the 39th of his ministry in both Bostons.

Cotton is unquestionably to be numbered with the eminent men of his time, for he maintained, with the single exception we have mentioned, an influence in church and state over such minds as Winthrop and others, civilians as well as ministers, which would hardly have been conceded even in those days to piety only or to clerical character. 'Some difference,' however, says the candid and discriminating Eliot, 'has appeared in the opinions expressed of this celebrated man. It has been suggested, that his character has been blazoned beyond its merits, for his biographers were Norton his friend, and Cotton Mather his grandson. Yet his learning was allowed by all his contemporaries. His piety and zeal none could doubt, for he sacrificed his ease, his interest, and country to enjoy the ordinances of religion. His candid spirit was not always in exercise. In the frenzy of his imagination, he sometimes blamed worthy men, and censured some, who had great claims to his respect and affection.' In truth, he did not, like his mild and charitable colleague, Wilson, rise above the prevailing bigotry of his day; but with most of his brother pilgrims, exemplified the observation, 'That when men begin to taste of Christian liberty themselves, they forget that other men have an equal title to enjoy it.'

It may be mentioned, as an evidence of the reputation in which Cotton was held, that in 1642 he was invited to England to assist in the assembly of divines at Westminster. His own inclination would have led him to accept the call, but Davenport and Hooker, with whom he was associated, were reluctant to go. The fruits of that famous assembly, as is well known, were the Confession of Faith and the Assembly's Catechism, larger and smaller.

Cotton's ascendancy in civil as well as in ecclesiastical affairs was great. 'He was called,' says Emerson,* 'the Patriarch of New-England.' It might almost be said, that Boston re-

* History of the First Church.

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ceived from him its name, in honor of the place of his first ministry, and its inhabitants their laws. Governor Winthrop, though more catholic in his opinions and temper than his pastor, held him in high esteem, and on one occasion, when Cotton stood in need of it, interposed for him the powerful protection of his friendship and influence. In his journal,—the highest authority we can adduce in the matter,—that devout and accomplished magistrate bears frequent testimony to his abilities and success as a preacher.

'It pleased the Lord to give special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston, after Mr. Cotton was called to office there. More were converted and added to the church than to all the other churches in the Bay. Divers profane and notorious evil persons came and confessed their sins, and were comfortably received into the bosom of the church. Yea, the Lord gave witness to the exercise of prophecy,* so as thereby some were converted, and others much edified.'—*Winthrop's Journal*, Vol. I. p. 121.

When any question arose of doubtful expediency, or in which there appeared a diversity of opinion, Cotton seems to have been the common judge, or to have settled the matter by his preaching.

'After much deliberation and serious advice, the Lord directed the teacher, Mr. Cotton, to make it clear by the Scripture, that the minister's maintenance as well as all other charges of the church, should be defrayed out of a stock or treasury, which was to be raised out of the weekly contribution, which accordingly was agreed upon.'—*Journal*, Vol. I.

And a yet more decisive instance of Cotton's powers of persuasion, seeing that it produced an immediate change in the costume of the ladies, is recorded by Hubbard, who tells us that Cotton preached a sermon at Salem one Sunday morning, which so enlightened the women that 'they appeared in the afternoon without their veils.' This important subject had been previously discussed at the weekly Lectures in Boston.

* This 'exercise of prophecy,' which seems to denote teaching from the Scriptures, or copious expositions, was practised by persons not ordained as well as by the clergy. Governor Winthrop himself often 'prophesied;' and if we should judge from his voluntary labors of this sort, when he was on his visits to Plymouth, Salem, Ipswich, &c. we may infer that he was not reluctant to lend his aid to a service in which, as in all other parts of his official duty, he excelled.

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Cotton there taught that where, by the custom of the place, veils were not a sign of the women's subjection, they were not commanded by the apostle. This opinion was opposed, and the contrary maintained by Endicott, on the ground of the general arguments of the apostle. The question excited considerable debate, till the Governor, 'perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed, and so it broke off.' It were desirable, that all controversies of similar moment, where the reason of the parties does not avail, might be quelled by a similar interposition.

We have spoken of the power of Cotton's preaching. Besides his weekly ministrations on the Sabbath, the Thursday Lecture, known to our fathers in those days when names of Pagan origin were abhorred, as the '*Fifth day Lecture*,' was the great theatre of his power. The venerable antiquity of this service, taking precedence in its origin of Harvard University, and almost coëval with the settlement of the town; its ancient associations; the place it long held among the spiritual privileges and grateful remembrances of generations, that are gone; the zeal and perseverance manifested in some memorable instances to attend it; and the succession of eminent men, who brought thither the various stores of their learning or the fruits of their eloquence, sanctified, we trust, by an hearty zeal for truth,—all unite to give to this service a peculiar interest.* But a few weeks have passed since the celebration of its second century by the ministers, who preach it in their turn; and as its history throws light upon the manners of the times, we are persuaded we shall gratify at least the antiquarians among our readers, by the following graphic delineation of its origin, taken from the discourse delivered on that occasion by the Rev. Mr. Frothingham, pastor of the church in which the lecture commenced, and one of the successors of its founder.

'The Thursday Lecture does not only carry us back to the days of the first settlement of the country, but to the native land of our forefathers. It is connected with the old world, as well as with old times. It was preached in the English Boston by the same fervent ministry that brought it to ours. We can follow it from the fens of the Witham to the New England coast. The

* A good man of Ipswich used frequently, it is said, to walk to Boston, a distance of about thirty miles, to attend the Thursday Lecture, declaring it was worth such a journey to unite in one of Mr. Norton's prayers.

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grandson of Mr. Cotton assures us, that his famous ancestor kept "his ordinary Lecture every Thursday," while he was under the directions of the Bishop of Lincoln, and in friendship with the noble Earl of the same title. One cannot but be struck with the thought, that the eloquent voice might have been heard many and many a time rolling among the stately Gothic arches of St. Butolph's, which came here to fill a poor meeting-house, having nothing better than mud for its walls and straw for its roof; and that under one of the loftiest cathedral towers in Europe, lifting itself up as the pride of the surrounding country, and a landmark to them that are afar off on the sea, this very institution had its origin, which has long shown not even the vestiges of its ancient renown, but is dying under our eyes and hands a lingering death. I imagine it not only associating the present with a remote age, but bringing together the opposite shores of the Atlantic Ocean. I hear the heavy bell calling John Cotton's hearers together in prelatical England; and the knell falls faintly around me of the intervening generations that have gone away one after another into silence.

'In returning from this digression, which some may think full imaginary enough, to the history of the beginnings of the Lecture among ourselves, the next fact that meets us is one that does not partake at all of the fanciful. It is the substantial reality of a market, set up now for the first time in this place. On the 4th of March, 1634, as Governor Winthrop informs us, "By order of court a mercate was erected at Boston to be kept upon Thursday the 5th day of the week, being the Lecture day."'

Again, in adverting to the aspect of the assembly at its first era.

'It was a meeting of all that claimed or deserved respect in the neighborhood. The magistrates were present, the Governor of the Colony with his counsellors; and after its appropriate offices were ended, it was followed by a convention of the people, at which municipal regulations were adopted, and questions of every kind were discussed that engaged the minds of the men of that day. "Whatever Mr. Cotton delivered," says an historian, "was soon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."

And afterwards, when, with the progress of half a century, Boston had increased, and its thatched meeting-house had given place to a more commodious structure,

'On every fifth morning of the week, there is a flowing together of the people from many a mile round. The villages send

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their yeomen and pastors. The walls of Harvard College, that have risen at Newtown, contribute of its few students and fellows to swell the train. All other instruction must cease, while the lips of the benignant old patriarch Wilson, of the eloquent and commanding Cotton, of the zealous Norton, of Oxenbridge the well beloved, who broke off his own preaching of this very Lecture to be carried to his death-bed, are dispensing diviner knowledge. The schools dismiss their pupils in the forenoon, and are kept no more that day, in order that no one may be deprived of so great a privilege. The rough weather of a climate yet sterner than it has since been, scarcely thins the assembly that comes to warm itself with fervent words and the glow of a common interest and the breath of its own crowd, in a cold place.'

The General Court, it would appear, were accustomed to adjourn their sessions that they might attend the Thursday Lecture; and when any thing was going wrong in the Legislature, Cotton interposed with his teachings from the Word to set it right. In repeated instances they received with all docility the law from his lips, and returned to their place and legislated accordingly. 'There was scarcely a subject,' says one of his biographers, 'affecting the civil or ecclesiastical state, which he did not discuss. At one time the town having chosen seven new officers, to the exclusion of Governor Winthrop and other influential men, who had served them faithfully in preceding years, Cotton interposed, and proved from Scripture that it was an order of Heaven to have all such business committed to the elders. Such was the weight of his authority, that he caused, on the succeeding Thursday, a new election. And on another occasion, a serious difference having arisen between the Governor, and assistants, and deputies, and it being found they could proceed no further, the whole court agreed to appoint a day of humiliation, when Cotton, their faithful chaplain, preached before them. 'He took his text,' writes Governor Winthrop,* 'out of Haggai II. 4, out of which he laid down the nature or strength of the magistracy, ministry, and people, with answer to all objections, and it pleased the Lord so to assist him, and to bless his own ordinance, that the affairs of the court went on cheerfully; and though all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man would say aught against it.' It is to be observed that the great doctrine inculcated was, that the

* Journal, Vol. I, p. 141.

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strength of the magistracy is to be their authority; of the people, their liberty; and of the ministry their purity; and that while each of these had a negative voice, *the ultimate decision must be with the whole body of the people*, whom therefore the preacher, in the true spirit of freedom, exhorted to guard their liberties against any encroachment or violence.

This mingling of the politician with the pastor was altogether in accordance with the spirit of the times, and with the exigencies of the people. It would be absurd to ascribe to personal influence alone the sway thus exercised by a minister over the public mind. Much undoubtedly must be conceded to the clerical office, but more to the reverence of the Word of God, which was deeply felt by the people, and to the opinion generally entertained of the resemblance of the government of our fathers to that of the Jews under their theocracy, in which God himself was the ruler, and his Word, which it was the province of his servants to interpret, the law. The learning also of the first ministers of New England gave great weight to their opinions. They had most of them been educated in the Universities. They were familiar with the original languages of the Scriptures. A few of them, like Cotton and Norton, had the reputation of eminent scholars, before they came hither; and though their literature, like their theology and the books which taught them, were borrowed from schools which have passed away, it accorded with the taste of the times, and the people paid them the reverence, which learning and sanctity in every condition of civilized society will assuredly obtain. Our fathers understood the value of this influence of sound learning in the ministry. They perceived its connexion with all just spiritual power; and it was for the preservation of it, and in their dread of an illiterate clergy, that amidst all their straits and dangers they established Harvard College.

Nor may it be overlooked, in considering the sources of Cotton's influence, that in common with some of the most distinguished of his brethren, he spoke with the authority of one, who was conscious in himself, and was known by those who heard him, to have made signal sacrifices in the cause. In truth, none of the pilgrims, if we except a few of the highest condition, Winthrop, Johnson, and his wife the accomplished daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, had given up more. When Cotton came to New England, he left behind him family connexions of respectability; friendship with the rich and the

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great; and the prospect of preferment in the church. He exchanged his home in a populous city, where he dwelt in honor, for a rude settlement in a wilderness; the stately Gothic church of St. Butolph, where crowds hung every sabbath upon his lips, for a poor meeting-house, more like a wigwam than a temple, having mud for its walls and straw for its roof, and in a place, of which the whole population, old men and children, young men and maidens, would hardly make up in numbers a decent assemblage. He resigned, moreover, the friendship of the Earl of Dorchester and the patronage of Archbishop Williams, who held the highest office in the kingdom, to take his lot with fellow-pilgrims and fellow-sufferers, generous and noble though they were, in the neighborhood of savages. It is true, he was driven to America by persecution, but it is equally true, that conformity would at any moment have recovered all. Yet this he did, and still more, that he might keep peace with his conscience. When, therefore, he spoke from his humble pulpit, the people, who 'knew the worth of the man,' and could estimate his sacrifices, because they had each in their measure made the same, suffered none of his words to fall to the ground. His learning they could respect, for some of them were learned themselves; and in his piety and faith, in which they all of them shared, or knew they ought to share, they saw the best hopes of the Colony and the sure pledge of the blessing of God. No wonder, therefore, that when Cotton taught, the moving of his lips was with power. And whether he showed to the people the times or the things that accompany salvation, they listened with equal deference, and were ready to say with the ancient Hebrews to their Lawgiver, 'All that the Lord hath spoken will we do.'

There have been other periods in the history of our country, when the influence of the clergy in civil affairs was, though not so controlling, yet salutary and acceptable. During the struggles of the American Revolution, when there was a general harmony of feeling, the aid of the pulpit in the common cause of freedom was sought, and was not withheld with impunity. But now that knowledge is widely diffused, and the people can judge for themselves, the day has passed when this mingling of things civil with things sacred would be either expedient or useful. In times, especially, of political excitement, and, as at the present day, amidst the countless divisions of party, any mingling of the Christian

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teacher by preaching or by action with the strife, must be of doubtful, and in all probability of injurious tendency. He will obtain no influence from the pulpit as a politician, but at the expense of his better influence as a pastor. Those of his flock, who may differ from his opinions, will hardly yield to him the credit of superior discernment on a subject they have not called him to teach. They will be vexed at finding an influence they did not expect, and may, therefore, deem ungenerous, arrayed against themselves; and will easily transfer their dislike of his politics to his most serious and affectionate religious exhortations. Our own times have not been without instances in confirmation of these remarks. And, even at a period, as we have seen, most favorable to such efforts, Norton himself, the author of the Memoir before us, was a memorable example of its danger. In the fullness of his popularity he undertook a political mission to England, and the infelicity of the result may serve as a warning to the clergy in all coming time.* It illustrates the great truth, that learning and piety are the strength of the ministry; that the pastor, most exclusively devoted to the appropriate objects of his calling, will in general be found the most useful and blameless; and it illustrates, moreover, the wisdom of the reply, once made by the spiritual Leighton to the complaint, that he did not, like others, preach to the times. 'If all the brethren preach to the *times*, may not one poor brother be suffered to preach on eternity?'

We have spoken of the learning of Cotton, and of others of the clergy in the first days of New England. Next to their piety it was the strength of their ministry. And when we remember the places or prospects they resigned, and the in-

* Mather, Hutchinson, and Eliot, all speak with sorrow of this unfortunate mission of Norton. The General Court chose him joint agent with Bradstreet, to present the address to Charles II., and to obtain from his majesty some privileges for the Colony. As the people had previously justified every circumstance of Cromwell's usurpation, and commended the justice which had brought the king's father to the scaffold, 'it became,' says Dr. Eliot, a 'delicate and difficult business to transact. It required so much art and dissimulation, that a minister of the Gospel ought not to have been concerned in it.' The mission itself was unsuccessful. The people blamed the agents, particularly charging Mr. Norton with unfaithfulness; till he began to imagine that his best friends had forsaken him. He grew melancholy, and died suddenly on a sabbath, while preparing for the afternoon exercises.

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fluence which their learning might have obtained for them in the parent country, with the obscurity of their condition in this; when we contrast what they relinquished or might have gotten there with what they encountered here, it is impossible to feel less than admiration of the martyr-like spirit of the men. This is a sentiment rising up involuntarily from every view of the characters of the Pilgrim Fathers. Their history is one of continually fresh, as it is of exhaustless interest. The same facts, the same personages, must be exhibited, but under what variety of illustration, and forms of excellence! And if, in the beginning of their strength, rather we should say, in the extremity of their weakness and perplexity, they valued so highly and spared no pains to perpetuate a learned ministry,* it cannot be deemed of less importance at the present day, when intelligence is widely diffused, and the means of good education are within the power almost of the humblest. It is true, the people do not now, as formerly, depend on their ministers for their knowledge. But this only makes the necessity of a thoroughly trained clergy the more urgent. For in proportion to the intelligence of the hearer must obviously be the learning of the teacher.

The spirit of the times is eminently favorable to a high standard of theological attainment. Whole denominations of Christians, who once looked with jealousy upon learning, as unfriendly to piety, have become converts to more liberal views; and are already among the foremost in endowing and sustaining their literary institutions. We heartily rejoice in this spirit, and we hope that from no false notions of expediency or economy, or wish to supply a temporary demand in the new settlements of our country, will this standard be suffered

* The following is an extract of a letter written in 1642, and published in 'New England's First Fruits.'

'After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things wee longed for and looked after, was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, *dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches*, when our present ministers should lie in the dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard, a godly gentleman and lover of learning, then living among us, to give the one half of his estate, towards the erecting of a colledge, and all his library.'

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to fall. The danger is more, we think, to be apprehended in our oldest seminaries than in the new. It should not be forgotten under any circumstances, that learning in the clergy is vital not only to the just influence of the profession, but of what is of unspeakably greater importance,—to the cause of truth and charity. The sophistry of infidelity on the one hand, and the extravagancies of fanaticism on the other, cannot be successfully encountered but with the help of learning. And, in general, we may be confident, that a thoroughly learned clergy will be a catholic one.

We take pleasure in adducing upon this subject the sentiments of a lamented individual,* who in an official capacity devoted himself with his characteristic ardor of purpose to the cause of theological education, and whose testimony is the result of intelligent and faithful observation.

'So strong is my conviction of the propriety of raising rather than lowering the standard of education, in all our seminaries of learning, that without pretending to extraordinary foresight, I will venture to predict the ultimate failure of any academy, college, or theological seminary, in which the plan of a superficial education is adopted. The community will not long support an institution, which is known to pursue such a system.'

'It may fairly be doubted, whether in the end any thing is to be gained for the church, by abridging for any young man a term of study, as at present settled by the soundest experience. Public opinion has declared most fully in favor of a thorough and liberal course of education for the ministry. And those institutions, which set out upon a different plan, have been compelled to change, and to conform to the model of the highest and most liberal standards.'

* The Rev. Dr. Cornelius, in Edwards's Memoir of his Life.

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ART. X.—*Progress and Limits of Social Improvement.*

Principi di Scienza Nuova di Giambattista Vico d'intorno alla comune Natura delle Nazioni colla vita dell' Autore scritto da lui medesimo. Edizione sesta. 3 vol. 8vo. Milano. 1816.

The New Science; or a Treatise on the Principles that regulate the Origin, Progress and Decline of Nations. By J. B. VICO, *with a Life of the Author, written by Himself.*

THE enquiry into the laws that regulate the progress, and determine the limits of the improvement of society,—which has become of late familiar to the public mind,—was not much agitated in the ancient schools of philosophy. It is chiefly, in fact, within the last half century that the speculations on this subject have begun to assume the form of definite theories. At the opening of the French Revolution, when the whole Christian world was in eager expectation of some great results that were to follow from this political movement, the boldest and most ardent thinkers started the idea, that a complete reform in the institutions of society would bring about the entire abolition of moral and physical evil in all their forms, and convert the earth into a paradise of perfect innocence and happiness, where we should flourish forever in immortal youth, without, of course, any wish or necessity of a better state hereafter. This system has been popularly called the theory of the perfectibility of man, and is not to be confounded with the sounder notions which encourage us to believe in the possibility of great improvements in the condition of particular individuals and societies, but always within moderate and reasonable limits. The partisans of this extravagant scheme were not undeceived by the fatal reverses, that so soon overclouded the fair promise of that memorable period. The oceans of innocent blood, that deluged the streets of Paris for five years, could not quench the fiery faith with which these enthusiastic souls adhered to their delusive visions of ideal perfection. It was in the dungeons of Robespierre,—from which he only escaped to die by the effects of poison, administered by his own hand, as the only

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resource against a more ignominious fate,—that Condorcet, the apostle of this school, composed his essay on the progress of the human mind. At the same time, when this doctrine was in full vogue in France, it also obtained a temporary currency in England, and may be found, set forth in full relief, in the Political Justice of Godwin ;—a work, which, strange as it may seem, was received with general enthusiasm by the reading public. The strong good sense of the mass of the people, enlightened by the practical refutation of these extravagant theories afforded by the progress of the French Revolution, pretty soon dissipated this delusion, which, as the opinion of a party, may now be said to be extinct.

An attempt has indeed been lately made to revive the system, and even to use it as the basis of a practical reform of the institutions of society, by two or three individuals, who, after failing to realize their hopes at home, condescended to make our country the theatre of their benevolent exertions. We allude to Mr. Owen, and his female associate, Miss Wright. The small success which they met with in this quarter, renders it superfluous to dwell at length on the particular form in which they manifested their opinions. Mr. Owen, with whom we had some slight personal acquaintance soon after his arrival in this country, said at that time that he was quite certain of being able, within five years, to reorganize after his own fashion, or in one word, to *Owenize* our whole vast Republic. More than eight years have since elapsed, and the single, and not very flourishing establishment at New Harmony, is thus far the only result of his labors. Indeed, this great reformer has since returned to his own country, in no very pleasant disposition towards us, affirming publicly, that we are incapable of self-government, and, of course, unworthy to be governed by him ; while it appears, that his fellow-laborer,—after much lecturing against the old-fashioned system of matrimony,—has lately condescended to change her name ;—no doubt on the principle of Benedict in the play, that when she lectured on the advantages to women of dispensing with husbands, she did not think that she should live to be herself a wife.

The same general tendency of opinion and feeling, which gave rise to the theory of perfectibility in France, displayed itself in Germany, under a somewhat more scientific,—perhaps we may say more plausible form,—although the leading

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characteristics of the German system are substantially the same with those of the French one. The friends of letters and humanity will always be forward in acknowledging their obligations to the Germans, as well for their earnest and persevering efforts in the reformation of religion and the restoration of classical learning, as for much of the best fruit that has been gathered within the last half century from almost every field in the vast domains of science. Nor can we be justly said to underrate their high deserts, when we add, that individuals, and even considerable classes of writers, belonging to this illustrious and excellent nation, to which we of Saxon stock look with pride and pleasure as our parent, have at different periods and particularly within the one just mentioned, indulged in wild speculations on many important points in metaphysical and moral philosophy. Perceiving however, or thinking they perceived, about the period of the opening of the French Revolution, a strong tendency towards an improvement of the condition of society in Europe, and wishing to connect this encouraging fact with the general course of the history of man, the German writers persuaded themselves that the species, like the individual, naturally goes through a process of education, by which it is gradually moulded, fashioned and perfected, so as to pass from a very rude original state through a long course of intermediate changes into one of indefinite purity and excellence. On this system, the generations that immediately followed the deluge, were the infants of our kind; the Greeks and Romans, and the other various nations that occupy the middle period of history were in a state of adolescence; towards the close of the last century, the human race began to approach maturity, and it was supposed that by the beginning of the next millennium, at the year 2000, they would have made such farther progress as to exhibit our nature in something like a state of perfection.

Such was, in substance, the theory proposed by the Germans, and which is particularly developed with a good deal of eloquence and plausibility by Herder, in his Philosophy of the History of Man, a work in its time of great celebrity and influence.* The system retains many partisans among the

* The opinion of Herder was not embraced by all his friends of the Weimar school. Schiller, for example, has condensed the substance of a much more reasonable doctrine into a single couplet.

Der Mensch wird alt und der Mensch wird jung,
Die Welt hat nimmer Verbesserung.

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less clear-headed and more enthusiastic of his countrymen, with whom the education of the human race still forms a favorite subject of declamation and reasoning. The theory is obviously nothing more than the French system of perfectibility in a somewhat different shape; and as the Germans borrowed from the French the leading notions which they thus accommodated in this fashion to their own taste,—so the French, on the other hand, having become tired of their own invention in its original form, have latterly shown some disposition to give it currency again, under the costume which it assumed on the eastern side of the Rhine. Professor Cousin, the most popular and eloquent French philosopher of the present day, bestows in his lectures a large eulogium on the work of Herder, and seems to adopt, under some modifications of his own, the leading points of the theory. His opinions, as far as they are peculiar to himself, are of too abstract and mystical a character to be here noticed. The system, under its German guise, has even found adherents and apostles on this side of the ocean. Some of our ablest and most eloquent writers have descanted with much enthusiasm and evident conviction on the indefinitely progressive character of our nature, without appearing to be conscious, that they were only commenting on the text of the Political Justice and the Age of Reason.

It is the natural tendency of extreme opinions to generate each other. An excess in one direction almost always leads, by the effect of reaction, to an excess in the opposite one; and this result in fact happened in the present instance. Struck with the absurdity of the theories of social improvement, to which we have alluded,—alarmed at some of their practical consequences,—and anxious to refute them, if possible, in a perfectly intelligible and positive way,—a school of philosophers arose in England, who denied the possibility of any improvement at all. It was declared to be impracticable, not merely that the human race should arrive on this sublunary sphere at a state of faultless perfection, but that France, Great Britain, the United States, or any other community should make any considerable advances beyond the precise point at which it stood in the year 1798; when, if we recollect rightly, the work of Malthus, the founder of this school, was published. This writer affirmed that all improvement would necessarily be attended with an increase of population,

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and that all increase of population was necessarily greater than the corresponding increase in the quantity of food required for its support could possibly be made. Hence all improvement carries with it a bane just powerful enough to neutralise the good principle to which it was owing, and to bring matters back exactly to their former state. In proportion as communities advance in civilization, they begin to fall short of provisions, and if they could possibly arrive at a state of perfection, they would be obliged, like the crew of a ship at sea in distress, to feed upon each other,—a result which, as Malthus rightly suggests, is not quite consistent with a state of entire innocence and happiness.

In reply to this argument, the partisans of the system of absolute perfectibility might, perhaps, pertinently enquire, how it appears, that man, in a state of complete perfection, whether in this or any other sphere, would retain his ancient senses and appetites. If we go the length of supposing that this mortal is to put on immortality here below, why not also suppose, that it may throw off at the same time the inclination and necessity for the gross aliments by which it is now sustained, and learn to subsist on an exclusively intellectual and substantial diet? Others again might have enquired how it happened, that this principle, which was to prevent all future improvement in all parts of the world, had formed no obstacle to the past; and why the multifarious movement of society, whether advancing, oblique or retrograde, which had been going on so busily for thousands of years, was to be arrested forever, precisely two years before the close of the eighteenth century. Such, however, is the celebrated system of Malthus, which, though passing out of vogue, like the other extreme doctrine which it was intended to refute, still has its partisans on both sides of the water, is vigorously maintained by some of the leading journals, particularly the Edinburgh Review,—and is considered by its partisans as forming a new era in the science of Political Economy.

If, however, we reject this system as not less irrational than the one it was meant to supersede, we shall still be at no loss to find reasons for refusing our assent to the doctrine of absolute perfectibility. The slightest observation of the universe to which we belong shows us, in fact, that one of its elements is a principle of evil, moral and physical, which has exhibited itself to a greater or less extent and under various modifications

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from the creation of the world up to the present day, and which evidently could not be eradicated while the system remains what it is. If men became angels, they would necessarily cease to be men; but when we enquire into the laws and limits of improvement, we mean to ask, what men are capable of becoming, without ceasing to be substantially what they are. History, the grand record of experiments in moral and political philosophy, refutes the doctrine on every page. We find no traces either of a regular improvement in the condition of the whole race, during the period of which we possess a historical account, or of any of the transition states through which, according to this theory, men have passed, from that of monkeys, or as some say, reptiles, into their present condition, in the course of that progress which is to elevate them ultimately into saints and seraphs. On this point we have the authority of Dr. Johnson, in his reply to Lord Monboddo, a Scotch partisan of these notions, who maintained that men were an improved race of monkeys, whose tails, originally long, had gradually shortened, and finally dwindled into nothing by the constant use of clothing. 'Show me,' said the Doctor, 'a single man who has the smallest remnant of a tail, though it be but an inch long, and I am a convert to the theory. Till then, allow me to believe the Bible, which assures us, that God created man, not in the form of a monkey or a reptile, but in his own image; and that it was not, as Helvetius affirms, an accidental twist of his thumb while in the monkey state, but the inspiration of the Almighty that gave him understanding.' In fact, Religion directly contradicts this theory. It not only teaches us, as has been just intimated, that we were created with substantially the same faculties which we now possess, and with a mixed moral nature, prone alternately to good and evil, but it further teaches us, that this mixture of good and evil is the permanent and unalterable law of our condition in this world;—that the very purpose of our existence here, as moral beings, is to work out, within the sphere of our own activity, the triumph of good over evil, which we of course could not do, if evil did not exist; and that the degree of fidelity with which we execute this purpose will determine our condition in a future state of being. When we suppose the possibility of perfection in this world, we abandon the hope of a better,—shut out from our intellectual vision the bright and glorious views that Religion opens to us of our origin, nature

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and destiny,—and in short, throw ourselves headlong into the black and bottomless gulf of Atheism, which, we know, swallowed up all the adherents of this system in France.

While we reject, without hesitation, a doctrine pregnant with such absurdities, and pointing to such conclusions, we still maintain, that there is in our nature a capacity for improvement within certain limits and under certain conditions. Although the whole human race appear to be formed after a common type, the essential characteristics of which will never be altered,—although men never have been monkeys, and in their present state of being never will be angels,—although the differences between the principal varieties of our species,—intellectually and morally viewed,—are, perhaps, less important than we are at first thought disposed to consider them,—it is nevertheless certain, that such varieties exist. Men, when examined at different times and places, and under different circumstances, exhibit very different intellectual, moral, and even physical characteristics. The several communities that inhabit the globe at the same periods, differ materially from each other in many important particulars. It is impossible for the utmost stretch of liberality to place the New Hollanders and the Hottentots on a level with the Frenchmen or the Englishmen of the present day,—to confound the subject of the Celestial Empire with the citizen of the United States. The same communities again exhibit, at different periods, as great a variety of characteristics as different communities at the same periods. Cities, that have figured as the seats of empire and luxury, dwindle into nameless heaps of ruins. Whole regions that have been at one time abodes of civilization, wealth and happiness, are given up to universal desolation at another. Compare the England of our time with the England of the Heptarchy or the Roman conquest. Compare the wealth,—the arts,—the luxury,—the high cultivation,—the dense population, that have rendered a little island one of the leading powers of the world, with the rude condition of the few scanty and half-naked savages, that shuddered under the shadow of their sombre forests at the incantations of the Druids. Look at Sicily as she was two thousand years ago, feeding from her abundant stores her own population of twelve millions, and at the same time exporting provisions to such an extent, as to be styled the granary of the Roman Empire. Compare her with the Sicily of the present

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day, exporting nothing, and hardly sustaining a wretched remnant of less than half a million inhabitants. Look at Greece in the age of her greatness and glory,—glowing with life and genius,—swarming with inhabitants,—every hill crowned with a fortress or a temple,—every valley teeming with the richest fruits,—every grove vocal with the sweetest strains of music and poetry,—every sea covered with her canvass,—every climate filled with her renown,—first repulsing, and then overturning the giant power of the Persian despotism,—in short, *subjugating,—civilizing,—charming the known world of her* day:—and then look at her as we see her now,—aptly described by the illustrious poet, who devoted his pen and his life to her service, as the cold and lifeless corpse of what she was,—bereft of every thing, except the inalienable treasure of her fine climate, and trembling but lately in her abject degradation at the nod of the chief of the black eunuchs of the Seraglio of Constantinople. Egypt, the wonder and glory of a still earlier period, has relapsed into a sand-bank, while Holland has risen from the same condition of a sand-bank, covered with alluvial earth, to be, as it were, the Egypt of the modern world. Rome herself, so long, and in such various ways the metropolis of Europe,—Rome, after swaying successively, through a career of more than two thousand years, the sceptre of military power,—law,—luxury,—civilization,—art,—and finally religion, is rapidly passing to the same gulf of ruin and complete oblivion that has swallowed up her predecessors; while a new Rome is rising with rapidity in our own day, on the banks of a river which the universal geography of the former did not even include, and promises, at no distant period, to realize a dominion even more extensive and durable than that of the Eternal City. The most superficial observation of the state of the world and the course of history proves, in short, that the condition of man, whether viewed in his individual or social capacity, though not subject to a law of regular progress, is nevertheless not determined, like that of the lower animals, by a fixed and unalterable standard, but varies very much at different times and places, and that the modern theories, which deny the possibility of any improvement, are not less incorrect than those which affirm that it can be carried to the point of absolute perfection.

If, then, we dismiss from our attention both these extreme systems,—if we recognise, on the one hand, the practicabili-

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ty of the advancement of civilization, and admit, on the other, that there are limits, which it never can transcend,—the interesting question naturally presents itself, *What are the principles which regulate this progress, and determine these limits?*

The law on this subject, suggested by the analogy of nature, and confirmed by all experience, appears to be this. The essential characteristics of human nature will always remain the same, but individual men and individual communities are susceptible of improvement or degradation, according to the circumstances in which they are placed, and the comparative vigor of their own exertions in turning them to account. If we look at the communities that fall within our own observation, with reference to their moral, intellectual and physical condition,—every particular, in short, which constitutes what we call civilization,—we find in each a common standard which is, as it were, an average of the condition of all the members, and to which that of the great majority of them in point of fact very nearly approaches; and we also find a certain number of individuals and families towering above or dropping below this standard, and exhibiting talents and virtues on the one hand, or weaknesses and vices on the other, which distinguish them completely, though in different degrees, from the rest. The same phenomenon presents itself to us, when we extend our observation so as to take in at once the whole compass of history. Nations,—races are the individuals and families that make up the vast society of man;—and as we notice in each particular community a common standard of civilization, and a certain number of individuals and families that rise above or fall below it, so in tracing the character of our race from its origin up to the present day, we observe in like manner a common standard of humanity,—if we may so speak,—which is the average of the condition of the various communities that have successively flourished in the different quarters of the globe, and to which the great majority of these communities make, in fact, a very near approach: and we also observe a number of particular communities rising above or falling below this common standard,—in one case living out feebly and obscurely the term of their existence, and then sinking into complete oblivion,—in the other, exercising a powerful influence over their contemporaries, and leaving a luminous track in the annals of the world.

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Such then appears to be the law. The nature of man will ever be substantially the same. The condition of individuals, whether men or communities, is variable: depending partly on the will of Providence, which places them in a more or less favorable condition for progress and improvement, but still more, perhaps, on the fidelity with which they respectively take advantage of the talents committed to their trust. The degree to which this improvement or this degradation may be carried, may be said to be indefinite, not because there are no limits to it, but because it is impossible to say beforehand what these limits are. We cannot affirm with certainty that no individual will ever be greater or better than the greatest or best man that has yet appeared, or more abject and vicious than the worst. In our own times, and within our own country, we have seen the standard of individual character raised to a height which it never reached before, in the person of Washington. But who will undertake to affirm, that virtues still more pure and glorious than those which distinguished the illustrious and beloved Father of our country, are absolutely unattainable? In like manner every enquirer, in casting his eyes over the long roll of history, would probably fasten them upon some one nation which, in his opinion, was fairly entitled to claim a preëminence over the rest. The magnificence of Egypt,—the piety of Judea,—the taste of Greece,—the virtue of Rome,—the stability of China,—the science and art of modern Europe,—the pure freedom of our own country, would in turn engage his attention, and according to his peculiar habits of thought might determine his preference. But he would exhibit more weakness and prejudice than sound philosophy, who should undertake to affirm that no nation can possibly exist hereafter, which shall exhibit his favorite qualities in higher perfection, and with less alloy than any of these.

But though the capacity for improvement may justly be said to be indefinite, it is far from being infinite. It is obviously limited, as we have already remarked, by the laws of our physical and moral constitution; and experience shows, that the actual progress in improvement of individuals and nations has no tendency to exempt them,—still less the whole race to which they belong,—from the operation of these laws, or to confer upon them powers and privileges, which Providence in this our state of probation has denied us. The best and greatest man that ever appeared has, we need not say, no more chance of

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arriving at immortality and perfection, on this side of the grave, than the worst. The mightiest and the weakest nations pursue alike the common course of progress, maturity, decline and fall. If merit could have secured its possessor from the lot of humanity, would our Washington have slept with his fathers on the banks of the Potomac? If religion, virtue, taste, courage, art, science,—all the finest and noblest qualities that adorn the character of nations,—afforded security against the mutability that is attached to every thing earthly, would Egypt, Judea, Greece, Rome, and so many other illustrious communities of ancient and modern days, have disappeared in succession from the theatres on which they flourished? Indeed, the highest attainments of individuals or communities, far from serving as a point of departure for a subsequent progressive advancement of the whole human race towards perfection, are much more frequently,—we may rather say universally, for such appears to be the general law,—the precursors of their own regular and rapid decline. The individual continues to advance until he arrives at the maturity of his nature; but no sooner has he reached this point, than the germ of decay begins to display itself. No matter how superior his qualities, how noble the use he makes of them:—let him be as great as Napoleon,—as wise and good as Aurelius or Socrates,—it makes no difference; he must go the way of all flesh,---dust returns to dust,--- and the spirit returns to God who gave it. Families, that at one time produce great characters, are very soon exhausted by their own fertility. It is much if a name continues illustrious for two generations, after which the glory of the ancestor only serves in general to exhibit more conspicuously the nothingness, if not the infamy of his degenerate progeny. Do we find the descendants of Warwick and Marlborough leading on the British armies to victory, or those of Bacon, Boyle, Bolingbroke, or Oxford preëminent in Council or in Parliament? The glories of Pitt the father, and Pitt the son, are inherited by,—we know not whom,---probably some active and enterprising fox-hunter; and the next generation of that far-famed race, which in our day peopled the thrones of Continental Europe, will be,—we say it not to their disparagement, they will probably be much better, though not greater men, than their progenitors,---a very quiet company of attorneys, ornithologists, and plain country gentlemen.

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In like manner in the history of nations, their most brilliant epochs have generally preceded, by a very short interval, their decay and ruin. The reign of Sesostris, the culminating point of the greatness of Egypt, was succeeded very shortly by the Persian conquest. David and Solomon had scarcely closed their illustrious career in Judea, when the kingdom was first rent in twain by domestic dissensions, and then subjugated by a foreign invader. Pericles, who has given his name to the brightest period in the history of Athens, witnessed himself the first three years of that wasting Peloponnesian war, which destroyed the prosperity of all Greece. The barbarian invasion and the dark ages, as they are emphatically called, tread upon the heels of the Augustan epoch; and the decline of France, notwithstanding the transitory splendor of the reign of Napoleon, will probably be dated hereafter from the close of the age of Lewis XIV. It was accordingly affirmed by Rousseau, an acute and profound, though sometimes mistaken reasoner on political events and principles, that no nation of modern Europe was likely to make any considerable advances in greatness and glory after the time when he was writing, for the reason that each had already reached and passed its brilliant period. The assertion has received a remarkable confirmation, both positive and negative. Of the Western nations to which he alluded, and which had then, or before, reached their brilliant periods, none, with the exception perhaps of Great Britain, has since obtained, or is likely to obtain hereafter, a permanent accession of power; while Russia, which was not included in his list, and which has not yet reached her period of brilliancy, has acquired, within the last fifty years,—as we have already had occasion to remark,—a prodigious accession of influence, and is rapidly pressing forward towards a complete and decided preponderance over all the rest.

It would not perhaps be difficult to show, why this is so; why the germs of evil, inherent in our nature, are warmed into life and activity by the same general causes that develope the principles of good; and why the progress of nations, like that of individuals, is naturally arrested at a certain point of maturity, from which they afterwards fall by a regular decline.* But the subject belongs

* It is remarkable that so little has been written directly upon this question, which is, perhaps, the most interesting in political philosophy. Our libraries are overrun with works upon the manner in which

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to another order of enquiries, and is foreign to our present purpose, which is rather to state and illustrate the fact.

Nations and races therefore pass like individuals through their periods of progress, maturity and decline, and the attainment by any one of the highest degrees of civilization that have yet been witnessed, instead of serving as an introduction to a new series of advances, is in general the precursor of approaching decay. It is evident, therefore, that no one race or nation can ever carry forward the work of improvement beyond a certain point, or extend its influence so as to change the character of the race.

But admitting this, it is sometimes suggested, that there is a regular progress of humanity kept up through a succession of races and nations, each of which inherits the acquisitions of those which preceded, and transmits them in turn with additions to those that follow, and that the sum of civilization is thus always increasing, and may continue to increase to an indefinite extent. The Asiatic, for example, takes up the line of the great 'march of intellect' where it was left by the African, and the European, in turn, where it was left by the Asiatic; so that the result is the same, as if each or all of them had carried it forward in a uniform course, up to the same point which it reached in the hands of the last.

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nations *ought* to be governed; but there are scarcely any upon the principles that *in fact* regulate their progress, and determine their condition, including the forms of their governments, at the different periods of their history. The work of Vico, which we have placed at the head of this article, is the only one of much importance upon this subject, and in this the author has done little more than propose the problem,—his own solution being far from complete or satisfactory. The principal merit of his book lies, in fact, in the title, which proves that Vico had distinctly conceived the original and important idea, that the circumstances which regulate the origin, progress and decline of nations are susceptible of generalization, and may be stated and classed as a separate branch of philosophy. In his attempt to do this, Vico failed, and the principles of the *New Science* are still to be discovered. Vico has been called in Italy the *Dante of Philosophy*. He was a bold and original, though not a very correct thinker. The effect and reputation of his work were destroyed by the confused, obscure, and cumbrous style in which it is written. Montesquieu, with whom he was contemporary, borrowed a good deal from him without acknowledgment. The public attention has lately been attracted to his work, by the praise which Cousin has bestowed upon it; and one of the pupils of that Professor, M. Michelet, has published a translation, or rather abstract, which, however, is nearly as illegible as the original.

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But this view of the subject, though somewhat more plausible in theory, is not more conformable to fact and experience than the other. The character and condition of each particular nation are the results, as we have already remarked, of the common principles of our nature, developing themselves in particular forms, according to the particular circumstances that affect their operation. One of these circumstances is undoubtedly the influence of other nations, whether preceding or contemporary, and this may be of any degree of importance, according to the extent of the relation through which it is exercised. Sometimes it is almost null. Whole races,—the Asiatic for example,—have passed through their periods of progress, maturity and decline, without having their civilization modified in any degree by this cause. In other cases, again, the effect of foreign influence is evidently considerable; but even in these, it is far from being true, that there is a regular superiority in the nation which follows over that which preceded, and in some degree formed it. The influence of the former is one of the elements that determine the character of the latter, but this character, in the general result, is neither superior nor inferior to the other. It is rather something *sui generis*,—and entirely different. In Greece, for instance, the impulse to improvement was given by colonies from Egypt, and the influence of these colonies no doubt affected, in a considerable degree, the progress of society in the former country. Greece, therefore, may be said to have inherited the wisdom of Egypt, and on the view of the subject which we are considering, the result should have been that Greece should have taken up the work of improvement at the point where it was left by the Egyptians, pursued the same course, and excelled them in their own way. What in fact happened? The form of civilization in Greece was not only different from that which existed in Egypt, but in most respects precisely the reverse. The Egyptians were religious; the Greeks philosophical. In their system of government, the Egyptians aimed at stability and order; the Greeks sacrificed every thing to an enthusiastic love of individual liberty. The style of art in Egypt was grand, massive, colossal; in Greece light, airy and elegant. We cannot say, that either nation was on the whole superior or inferior to the other. Each would be preferred by particular persons according to their particular tastes and habits, and each was superior in its own way.

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The Jews again inherited, under different circumstances, this same wisdom of Egypt, and formed themselves upon it. The civilization of Judea was cradled in an ark of bulrushes on the banks of the Nile. On the system we are considering, the daughter of Zion, in her mature beauty, should have exhibited at once the imposing majesty of her parent, and the wild and native graces of her younger sister, the charming wood-nymph of Hellas. What in fact happened? She bore no resemblance either to one or to the other. We may say, that the civilization of the Jews was superior to that of the Egyptians, because they excelled the latter precisely in the quality that forms the highest distinction of our nature, that is Piety; but the two things are not, after all, susceptible of comparison. They are essentially different. The temple of Solomon was, perhaps, inferior in grandeur to those of Carnac and Luxore; but the lyre of David sent forth strains that were never heard within the cloisters of the priestly aristocracy of Memphis.

The Saracens, a modern nation, inherited and formed themselves upon the whole learning of the ancient world. Their sacred writings are a compilation from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures: their philosophy and art were borrowed from the Greeks. Is the Koran, then, an improvement upon the Bible? Did Averroes carry intellectual philosophy beyond the point where it was left by Aristotle? Is Sinbad the Sailor a better poem than the Odyssey? Did Bagdad and Cordova, at their brilliant periods, flourishing in all the pomp of oriental luxury,—marble halls,—flowing fountains,—orange groves,—trelliced arbors,—bear much resemblance to Jerusalem, Rome or Athens? Was the civilization of the Saracens superior, inferior, or equal to that of the ancient world, or was it not rather something entirely different, having merits and defects of its own, and admitting, in reality, no precise comparison with that of any other people?

Finally, we see in the modern world of our own time a new formation out of the same materials, which were employed by the Saracens. We inherit like them, and with their additions,—whatever they may have been,—the wisdom of Egypt, Greece, and Palestine. On the doctrine we are considering, it would be difficult to say, what the result ought to be; for we should have been obliged to surpass, each in its own way, three or four nations, whose respective forms of civilization were all different.

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This was obviously impossible; but if we could not excel them all at once, each in its own way, we might at least have selected some one of our masters, whose peculiar characteristics we might have copied and carried to higher perfection. Has this in fact happened? Quite the contrary. The civilization of the modern world is another new creation, entirely different from that of any of the ancient nations, whose acquisitions we inherit. We are neither superior nor inferior to them; they were neither superior nor inferior to us. They excelled us in certain particulars, each in its own way: we excel them in others. The Egyptians surpassed us in the grandeur of their public monuments;—the Hebrews in piety;—the Greeks in taste;—the Romans in virtue;—even the Saracens in a sort of wild magnificence. We excel them all in the physical sciences, and their application to the arts. There lies our peculiar glory; and it may serve to moderate the pride which we are sometimes inclined to feel in our supposed general superiority, to recollect, that the ancients had the advantage of us in most of the attainments belonging to our moral and higher nature, and that it is principally in the lower order of mechanical and purely material enquiries that we excel them. In making this remark, we leave out of view the modern improvements in political science, from which we expect great results, but of which the value is not yet fully ascertained.

We find, in short, no appearance in the history of the world, of a law, by which each successive nation or race takes up the work of improvement at the point where it was left by preceding ones, and after carrying it on during the period of its own existence, delivers it over in a more advanced state to its successors. On the contrary, the fortunes and characters of particular nations rather seem to be, when the term is properly explained, the results of accident. The development of civilization is accordingly described by a late English poet, Mrs. Barbauld, as the effect of the presence of a capricious Genius, who, without any moving cause, but his own accidental preference, fixes his residence alternately in different quarters of the globe.

'There walks a spirit o'er the peopled earth;
Secret his progress is, unknown his birth;
Moody and viewless as the changing wind,
No force arrests his foot, no chain can bind.
Where'er he turns, the human brute awakes,
And roused to better life, his sordid hut forsakes:

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He thinks, he reasons, glows with purer fires,
Feels finer wants, and burns with new desires.
Obedient nature follows where he leads,—
The steaming marsh is changed to fruitful meads;
Then from its bed is drawn the ponderous ore;
Then commerce pours her gifts on every shore;
Then kindles fancy, then expands the heart,
Then blow the flowers of genius and of art;
Saints, heroes, sages, who the land adorn,
Seem rather to descend, than to be born;
Whilst history, midst the rolls consigned to fame,
With pen of adamant inscribes their name.

The Genius now forsakes the favored shore,
And hates, capricious, what he loved before.
Then empires fall to dust, then arts decay,
And wasted realms enfeebled despots sway.
Even nature's changed; without his fostering smile,
Ophir no gold, no plenty yields the Nile;
The thirsty sand absorbs the useless rill,
And spotted plagues from putrid fens distil.
In desert solitudes then Tadmor sleeps;
Stern Marius then o'er fallen Carthage weeps;
Then with enthusiast love the pilgrim roves
To seek his footsteps, in forsaken groves,
Explores the fractured arch, the ruined tower,
Those limbs disjointed of gigantic power;
Still at each step he dreads the adder's sting,
The Arab's javelin, or the tiger's spring;
With doubtful caution treads the echoing ground,
And asks where Troy and Babylon are found.'

The facts, which Mrs. Barbauld describes as the consequences of the caprice of the Genius of Civilization, and which may be fairly represented, according to the common use of language, as the effects of accident, are in reality, we hardly need say, results of the will of Providence, determining the circumstances in which men and nations are placed, and of the will of man, so far as he is left free, exercising a spontaneous action upon these circumstances, and modifying their results.

Such appears to be the law which regulates the progress, and determines the limits of the improvement of society. The essential characteristics of the race will always remain the same. The condition of individuals and communities is variable and susceptible of improvement or degradation,

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within certain limits assigned by the moral and physical laws of our nature. In briefly recapitulating the different views that have been taken of this subject, we have incidentally alluded to some of the more remarkable historical examples which tend to illustrate it, and to substantiate the conclusions we have drawn. A more complete and systematic survey of the field of history would probably afford new evidence of their truth. When we contemplate, at one view, the succession of nations and races, whose records fill up the annals of the world, and endeavor to ascertain the relations in which each has stood to those which preceded, accompanied, and followed it in the order of time, far from perceiving the existence of a law of progress, by the effect of which every generation regularly surpasses the preceding one, and is surpassed, in turn, by that which follows it, we find, on the contrary, that the common principles of our nature develope themselves spontaneously in each particular community or race, according to the particular circumstances which affect their operation, and of which the influence of other nations and races is only one, frequently not among the most important; and we find, that each particular race and nation passes through its regular course of progress, maturity, and decline, without appearing to exercise any permanent influence on the character and fortunes of the species. It would be impossible on an occasion like the present to enter, in much detail, upon a survey of this description, but it may not be wholly unprofitable to cast a rapid and hasty glance over the mere outline of this vast picture.

1. The history of civilization divides itself into three great branches, corresponding, in the main, with the three great divisions of the ancient continent; Europe, Asia, and Africa. The last of these sections is the one which formed the theatre of its first development. Scripture and the classical writers concur in attributing to the Ethiopians,—a people situated at the sources of the Nile and on the territory which forms the modern Abyssinia,—the precedence in the order of time over all other civilized nations. Between this people, and that which at the same time occupied the peninsula now called Hindostan, there was probably much communication, as appears from the similarity of their architectural monuments, and some other circumstances; but as the period when they both flourished lies beyond the domain of history, we have

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no means of deciding with certainty which was a colony from the other. As far as the accounts carry us, the priority belongs to Ethiopia. The history of this nation is almost wholly concealed in the night of ages; and we know but little of it, excepting that it must have been in its day the seat of great power, wealth, and luxury, and the point from which they diffused themselves over all the neighboring regions. From this remote quarter, civilization descended the Nile into Egypt, and was carried over the Red Sea into Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotomia. Babylon and Nineveh are represented in Scripture as colonies of Ethiopia. Phenicia, which included Tyre, and of course Carthage, which was a colony of the latter city, sprung from the same stock. In short, the whole North of Africa and South-west of Asia,—the whole vast extent of territory, which stretches from the Streights of Gibraltar to the Ganges,—was peopled by a family of kindred nations, of which Ethiopia was the parent, and Egypt the most prominent member.

Egypt is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable nations that have ever flourished, and has, indeed, lately been pronounced by a powerful British writer, decidedly the most remarkable of all. Her history, like that of Ethiopia, is nearly unknown in its details; but there is evidence enough remaining of the power, wealth and high civilization, which distinguished her at the period of her greatest prosperity. In proof of this, we need only mention the Pyramids, and the ruins of cities and temples, that cover the banks of the Nile: —monuments, that are so far from having been equalled or surpassed at any subsequent period, that we can even now hardly form an idea of the possibility of their construction. These magnificent ruins are, however, by no means the only records of the glory of Egypt. The text of Scripture, the works of the Greek and Roman writers, are filled with descriptions of her wonders, admiration of her wisdom, wealth and luxury, and terrors of her power. The height of prosperity which she had attained as a nation, is the best proof that we could have of the excellenee of her political constitution; while it appears, from the paintings and utensils found among the ruins of her cities, that the practical arts of life were carried by her to nearly the same degree of perfection, as with us.

By the side of Egypt, and on the foreground of the same

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historical picture, Babylon figures with hardly less magnificence. The Greek writers, particularly Herodotus, have exhausted their eloquence in describing her splendid architectural monuments; and the details he gives us are of so extraordinary a character, that they have been regarded by some writers as fabulous; although from the well-attested veracity of the Father of History, as to every point that came within his own knowledge, there is little doubt of their correctness. Egypt and the kindred nations around her, were, in short, the civilized world of that primeval day. There it was, that the generous and stirring spirits of the time, Pythagoras, Homer, Solon, Herodotus, Plato and the rest, made their noble journeys of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany and Italy. The great law-giver of the Jews was prepared for his divine mission by a course of instruction in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. The colonies that gave the impulse to improvement in Greece,—the founders of Argos, Athens, Thebes and Delphi,—came from Egypt or her colonies, and for centuries afterwards their descendants constantly returned thither, as to the source and centre of civilization.

Such was the height to which improvement attained in Africa; and, it may serve to moderate the pride we are apt to feel in the supposed superiority of the white race, to which we belong, over every other, to recollect that the whole civilized world of this early period was inhabited by men of a color, which in this country we hardly venture to call by its proper name, in connexion with the human species; in short by blacks. Ethiopia and Egypt, India, Babylon and Nineveh, Tyre and Carthage, are all represented by the Greek writers as peopled in their time by men of this color. The Egyptians, in particular, are described by Herodotus as blacks with woolly hair.* Some modern writers have, it is true, attempted to dispute the positive assertion of Herodotus on this subject. It is well known that the Europeans,—unwilling to admit that a race whom they have injured so deeply as the Africans, are naturally their equals,—have undertaken to prove that they are an inferior variety of the species, and even to show, by certain points in their physical constitution, that they must be so. This degrading theory,—degrading, we mean, to its authors, and not

* Euterpe § CIV.

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to the unfortunate race whom they thus attempt to reduce below themselves in the scale of humanity, in order to have some apology for torturing and oppressing them,—this degrading theory is of course ruined by the single fact, that the Egyptians, the predecessors, and as it were the masters in civilization of the Europeans, belonged to the African family; and in order to maintain the system, its partisans are compelled, and have really undertaken to make out, that Herodotus did not know black from white. Those who do not go quite this length, affirm that even if the mass of the nation were men of color, the ruling families, who possessed the power, wealth and wisdom of the country, must have been white; and this theory has been thought to receive some confirmation from certain paintings found among the Egyptian monuments, representing processions and other public meetings, and which include persons of different colors, black, red and white. This fact may be easily explained, by supposing that the paintings in question belong to the period of Egyptian history subsequent to the Persian Conquest, from which time forward the ruling families were undoubtedly white: and it could, of course, carry no weight in opposition to the highest contemporary authority.

We may add, that at this time there was no prejudice entertained by the Europeans against the color of the African race. The early Greeks appear, on the contrary,—as was natural enough, considering that the blacks had the advantage of them in power and civilization,—to have regarded the latter not merely as their equals, but as a superior variety of the species;—superior to themselves, not only in wisdom and virtue, but what may seem to be much more remarkable, in outward appearance. The Ethiopians, says Herodotus, excel all other nations in longevity, stature, and personal beauty.* Their excellent moral qualities are amply attested by Homer, who constantly speaks of them with the epithet *blameless*, and informs us repeatedly; that Jupiter, attended by all the Gods, was in the habit, out of regard to their extraordinary piety, of accepting an invitation which they annually gave him to a festival that lasted twelve days. When Achilles, in the first book of the Iliad, complains to his mother, the sea-goddess Thetis, of the insult he has received from

* Thalia, § CXIV.

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Agamemnon, she gives as a reason for not reporting the matter at once to Jupiter, and demanding redress, that he, with the whole celestial synod in his train, was absent on his annual visit to the blameless Ethiopians, and was not expected back in less than twelve days.

> 'The Sire of Gods, and all the etherial train,
> On the warm limits of the farthest main,
> Now mix with mortals, nor disdain to grace
> The feasts of Ethiopia's blameless race.
> Twelve days the powers indulge the genial rite,
> Returning with the twelfth revolving light;
> Then will I mount the brazen dome, and move
> The high tribunal of immortal Jove.'

The black prince Memnon, probably a king of Egypt, who served in the Trojan army at the siege of Troy, is uniformly spoken of by the Greek and Latin poets as a person of extraordinary beauty, and is qualified as the son of Aurora or the morning. There are, in short, no traces to be found of any prejudice against the color of the blacks like that which has grown up in modern times, and which is in fact much stronger in this country than in Europe. It is obviously the result of the relative condition of the two races. We hate and despise the blacks, because we have deeply and shamefully injured them. The prejudice against them proves not that they are naturally inferior to us, but that we, in our treatment of them, are inferior to ourselves. It forms, however,—as was correctly remarked by President Madison in one of his speeches in the late Virginia Convention,—the principal obstacle to the practical improvement of the condition of that portion of this unfortunate race which we have among us; and it is in the hope of contributing, however slightly, to the removal of it, that we have indulged in this digression.

Such, however, is the brief outline of the first development of civilization of which we have any knowledge. It commenced in Africa soon after the deluge,—spread itself all over the neighboring regions, and continued to advance by a regular progress for about a thousand years, until it attained,—at the period assigned to the Trojan war, that is, about eleven or twelve hundred years before the Christian era,—the high state which we have now been describing. If the doctrine of a regular progress in the condition of humanity were true, the ad-

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vances thus obtained would have naturally served as a point of departure for a new march towards a still higher degree of civilization. What in fact happened? Has Africa,—has the black race, continued to advance during the three thousand years that have elapsed since the period of the Trojan war, with as much rapidity as during the thousand that preceded it? The question would be sufficiently answered by the prejudice we now feel against the very color, shape and physical constitution of that ill-fated people. During the period alluded to, civilization has been constantly declining in Africa and her colonies, as regularly as it previously rose. Shortly after the time of their greatest power and splendor, Egypt, Babylon and all their dependencies excepting Carthage, were subjugated by the Persians,—then a hardy and warlike race of mountaineers. The sensation created at the time by this tremendous political revolution, appears to have resembled that which was occasioned in our own day by the progress and results of the late crisis in the affairs of Europe. We have still extant a lively contemporary expression of it in the writings of the Hebrew prophets, and many of our readers doubtless recollect how universally and how aptly the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, which describes the fall of Babylon, was applied in our public religious ceremonies to that of Napoleon. So deep and lasting were the impressions produced by this catastrophe, that two of the most celebrated painters of our day,—one of whom we are proud to claim as our countryman,—have selected it as a subject for the pencil. Mr. Allston is now engaged on a picture intended to represent the wonderful events that occurred in the interior of the Palace at Babylon, on that memorable night, when Belshazzar held his last feast; and when the troops of Cyrus, after turning the course of the Tigris, passing in its bed under the walls of the city, and ascending the private stairs that conducted from the river to the royal apartments, burst upon the view of the assembled court in the character of the ministers of divine vengeance upon a corrupted people, and announced to the monarch that his kingdom was divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. This was about five hundred years before Christ. Two centuries later, these terrible invaders, already corrupted by power and prosperity, were first repulsed, and then subjugated by the Greeks, who, under Alexander, wrested from them all their African conquests, and extended their own dominions from Indus to

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the sources of the Nile. Carthage still remained,—the sole surviving fragment of African prosperity;—but this was soon swept away by the swelling inundation of the Roman power. The grand and gloomy figure of Hannibal closes, with appropriate dignity the long line of the successors of Nimrod, Ninus and Sesostris. From this time forward, the proper African race ceases to exercise any independent action in the affairs of the world. Their territory has been successively occupied, without resistance on their part, by the northern barbarians, the Arabs, the Turks, and every European nation that has chosen to invade it. By the effect of this series of revolutions, the wealth and population of these naturally fine and flourishing regions have been gradually wasted, until they have sunk into the state in which we see them at the present day.

II. The history of the African branch of civilization lends, therefore, but little confirmation to the theory of regular progress and complete perfectibility. Look now at the Asiatic,—that, we mean, which occurred in Asia independently of the influence of the African colonies, which, as we have remarked, overspread and civilized the South-western part of that continent. The scene of this development was laid in the central and South-eastern quarter, among a people whom we commonly denominate the Tartars, although that name does not seem to be in use among themselves. The details of its origin and progress are,—as in the case of Africa,—in a great measure unknown. The results are apparent in the vast and populous empires of Japan and China,—especially the latter, which is doubtless in many important particulars one of the most extraordinary communities that have ever flourished, and of which the history and institutions are far too little studied by the political inquirers of the Western world. Improvement appears to have commenced in this quarter somewhat later than in Africa, and to have advanced by a slower progress. China, which had previously consisted of a number of independent nations, constantly at war with each other, was consolidated into its present shape at about the period of the Christian era, and from that time forward continued to advance in power, wealth and civilization, for at least a thousand years. The creation of that immense empire did not however exhaust the activity of the Tartar race. On the contrary, their habits of daring and restless enterprise kept in constant alarm, not merely the central part of Asia, which they inhabited, but the

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whole ancient continent,—we may say indeed the whole world. Fresh hordes, successively emigrating from this quarter, or urged forward by those who actually did so, subverted the vast fabric of the Roman Empire. Before this catastrophe was finally completed, their spirit of expansion took an opposite course, and under the direction of Gengis Khan and his immediate successors, poured itself out over the kindred nations of their own stock in the south-east of Asia, and crossing the Himalaya mountains, burst, like a tempest, on the beautiful and then unwarlike regions of Hindostan and Persia. Among the results of this last and most violent effort of the development of the Tartar race, were,—as we have reason to suppose, —the emigrations which led to the establishment on our own continent of the empires of Mexico and Peru.

A late British writer, Mr. Ranking, has undertaken to give in detail a history of these emigrations and their consequences; but without indulging in vain speculations, which belong rather to the domain of romance, we have ample ground for considering the principal fact as certain. The attack on Japan by a Tartar army at about this period, which is recorded by the native historians of that empire, proves that a portion of their tribes had moved in a north-easterly direction; and it is hardly probable that their course would have been checked by the trifling obstacle of a narrow arm of the ocean. They doubtless crossed the Streights of Behring, and advanced towards the South in search of a better climate, until they reached the equatorial regions, where they finally settled. The traditions of the Mexicans and Peruvians point, in fact, to the north-west, as the quarter from which their ancestors proceeded; while their manners, opinions and physical constitutions identify them fully with the great Tartar family.

Be that, however, as it may, and from whatever source we may suppose that the population of these empires proceeded, it is certain that civilization began to advance with great rapidity in Asia, soon after the opening of the Christian era, and continued in a state of progress for about twelve or fourteen hundred years. Asia was, in fact, the civilized world of this period, as Africa had been of the preceding one. The Roman empire had become the prey of the northern invaders, among whom the spirit of improvement had not yet begun to develope itself. All the more ancient seats of civilization had relapsed into barbarism, and a general night of rudeness and

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ignorance overspread the whole West. In the meantime, the East was flourishing in the full enjoyment of the arts, the comforts, and the luxuries that belong to polished society. The family of kindred nations which inhabited it, were governed by political and social institutions, differing, in many points of form, from those which we consider wise and liberal; but, if we may judge by their stability, well accommodated to the genius and taste of the people over which they were established,—after all, the real test of the goodness of any government. Under the influence of these institutions, population increased with extraordinary rapidity, until it reached in China the astonishing height of more than three hundred millions. Wealth, the progress of which is chiefly dependent on the increase of population, accumulated in proportion, and the invention and cultivation of the elegant and useful arts followed in its train. The discovery of the art of printing, which was made by the Chinese, gave an impulse to literature; and books were multiplied to an extent hardly known as yet even in Modern Europe. Learning was the only passport to the political and civil departments of the public service. Poetry and polite literature became the ordinary occupation and favorite amusement of the youth of both sexes, as we learn from the novels and romances of the Chinese, in which the young men and women of the higher classes, when they meet together, instead of engaging in the sorts of amusement which are fashionable with us, commonly challenge each other to a trial of skill in making verses. While these flowers of fancy embellished the surface of society, the philosophy of practical life,—the richest fruit of civilization,—was maturing beneath it. Morality was founded on the solid basis of the natural affections, and sanctioned by the pure and sublime religion of Confucius, which was not yet superseded by the gross superstitions of foreign origin, that have since gained ground among the mass of the people. Respect for age and authority,—devotion to the female sex,—a graceful softness and polish of manners, were the general characteristics of society, and gave security and pleasure to the ordinary intercourse of life. Some departments of art and science were less cultivated. Painting, sculpture, and architecture were neglected in the general enthusiasm for poetry: and the great attention and importance that were attached to moral and political philosophy seem to have thrown into the shade the mechanical and physical

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sciences, which made but little progress. But notwithstanding these and any other deductions that may properly be made, it can hardly be denied, that civilization had attained at this time, in China and the neighboring nations of Eastern Asia, nearly or quite as high a point of perfection, though under a somewhat different form, as it has ever reached in any part of the world. Such was the state of these countries when they were first visited by Marco Polo, Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, and others in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The accounts of their power, magnificence and luxury, which were brought back by these enterprising pilgrims, appeared to our rude and ignorant ancestors like Arabian tales. Though fully confirmed by subsequent inquiries, they obtained for a long time but little credit, and their authors were even held up as patterns in the art of open and unblushing falsehood. 'Ferdinand Mendez Pinto,' says a character in one of the British comedies, to another whom he is charging with a habit of gross deception, 'Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude!'

Here then was another large section of our race,—another family of kindred nations, forming as it were a world by itself, which had risen to a very high point of civilization. If the theory of a regular progress in the condition of humanity were true, they too might naturally have been expected to make still farther advances in improvement, and to have communicated their methods to others until they had civilized the whole human race, and carried it with them to the acme of complete perfection. The result, however, has by no means corresponded with any such expectation. Although the prosperity of Asia, as it increased less rapidly, has also been somewhat more lasting than that of Africa, it has, nevertheless, been constantly declining since the period to which we have alluded. The spirit of expansion and development has ceased to exhibit itself in this quarter, and the vast central *plateau* of Tartary, which formerly sent forth swarms of conquering emigrants toward every point of the compass, is now nearly uninhabited. Three centuries ago the Tartars occupied Moscow. Now the Russians have their permanent military posts close upon the great wall. The wealth and magnificence of China, though still remarkable, have evidently sunk very much since the successive conquests by Gengis and his descendants, probably by the effect of some unfavorable changes

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of constitution resulting from these events. Instead of extending her peculiar form of civilization throughout the world, this great empire has been compelled for two or three centuries past to act on the defensive, and to repel, as she best might, the vigorous inroads of the spirit of improvement developing itself under a different, and to her hostile shape, in the remote region of Europe, and thence throwing out its ramifications over the habitable globe. It hardly requires the exercise of a very strong prophetic power to foretell which party will ultimately gain the advantage in this struggle, or, even should their prosperity be wholly unaffected by any unfavorable foreign influence, to foresee, that the glories of Pekin, Canton, and Jeddo are destined, comparatively at no very distant day, to share the same fate with those of Rome, Memphis and Babylon.

The history of Asia leads us, therefore, to the same concluclusion in regard to the progress and limits of the improvement of society, with that of Africa. It only remains to notice the bearing upon this subject of the third great experiment, which is furnished us by the history of civilization in Ancient Europe.

III. The white, or as it is sometimes called Caucasian race, by which Europe has been peopled, is the one which we, who belong to it, have been in the habit of considering as essentially superior to every other. The illustrious naturalist, Linnæus, has classed it as a separate variety of the species, under the honorable title of *Homo sapiens Europæus*,—the wise European. It is here, therefore, if any where, that we should expect a confirmation of the theory of perfectibility, and it is fortunate for the elucidation of the subject, that as respects this part of it, we have in our possession all the facts necessary for forming an opinion. It is, however, as it happens, precisely in this quarter, that we find the strongest evidence of the visionary character of this system. Among the European nations of the old world, civilization passed through the natural course of progress, maturity, and decay, with equal regularity and greater rapidity than among the Asiatic or the African. The improvement of the white race commenced at once in several quarters, among the Jews, the Persians, and the Greeks, about the time when civilization had passed its maturity, and was going to decay among the Africans: that is, about one thousand years before Christ. The Jews were a

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white colony, who emigrated into Palestine from the North-east, and after an intermediate residence of two or three centuries in Egypt, finally established themselves in the former country. Their name will be forever memorable in the history of the world, as that of the nation through which it has pleased Providence to instruct a large portion of mankind in the sublime truths of religion. Notwithstanding the prejudices against them, which were entertained by the Romans, their capital is declared by Pliny, to have been by far the most illustrious of the cities of the East. *Hierosolyma, longe clarissima urbium Orientis.** But their political importance does not correspond with the wide space they occupy in the domain of religious and moral philosophy. They were considerable, for a moment, under David and Solomon, but were almost immediately crushed by the still overwhelming greatness of the African nations, and never afterwards recovered their independence. It was, however, only seventy years after their subjugation, that the white race acquired, at the conquest of Babylon by the Persians, the ascendancy over the blacks, which they have ever since maintained. From this time forward, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans figured successively as the representatives of the whites, and as the leading powers of the civilized world of that period. The Persians were almost immediately corrupted by the arts and luxuries of their vanquished enemies, and ran very rapidly through their short and comparatively inglorious career, which commenced with the conquest of Babylon, and finished with the flight of Xerxes. The Greeks acquired during their prosperity a peculiar glory, by discovering the true principles of taste in the fine arts, and, at the same time, carrying the practice of them to complete perfection. They occupy in this department the place that belongs to the Jews in religion; and will forever excite the enthusiastic admiration of the lovers of poetry, painting, sculpture and architecture. But they, like the Jews, figured on a theatre too limited in extent to allow them to obtain a durable political importance; and the whole period of their prosperity, from the repulse of the Persians to the Roman invasion, falls within the compass of less than three centuries. It is accordingly among the Romans that we find the most complete development of civilization that took place in

* Plin. Nat. Hist. V. 15.

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ancient Europe, but even here its progress and decline were much more rapid than they had been in Africa or Asia. In less than eight hundred years from the foundation of the city, Rome attained her loftiest height of power under Augustus, and in less than five hundred more was completely over-run by the barbarians; leaving no other trace of her political greatness, but the miserable wreck that survived at Constantinople. The vigor and virtue that marked the earlier periods of this illustrious Republic,—the arts and luxury that attended its maturity,—the vices that precipitated, and the melancholy struggles that attended its fall, constitute the principal subjects of our youthful studies, and are too familiar to us to require any notice. Suffice it to say, that the history of the wise European,—or Caucasian,—the *homo sapiens Europæus*,—whether we view him in Judea, Persia, Greece or Rome, is no better fitted than that of his weaker brethren to encourage the belief in the theory of a regular and indefinite progress in the condition of society throughout the world.

Such is the brief outline of the whole series of experiments on the fortunes of nations, of which we have any account, and of which the record may be considered as entirely made up and closed. Within four or five centuries, a new development of civilization has commenced among the race to which we belong, on the same field which was the theatre of the former one, and is now in a state of progress on the ancient continent, from which it has more recently extended itself to this. No conclusions can of course be drawn with propriety from experiments that are still unfinished, and we must leave it to future generations to gather from the history of Modern Europe and her colonies, the political and moral lessons which it is fitted to teach. It is natural, however, for communities which are actually in a state of progress and expansion, to look with complacency on the present, and with brilliant anticipations on the future. Not having yet reached the limit of their own advancement, and not having it of course immediately before their eyes, they are tempted to flatter themselves that none exists, and that they are destined to furnish a splendid exception to the course of universal history. Such appears to have been, in fact, the historical origin of the theories upon this subject that grew up at the opening of the French Revolution, and to which we have alluded. The delusion, by the effect of which the individual believes that his case will form an excep-

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tion to the general laws that regulate the fortunes of his kindred and kind, however common it may be, is of too gross a character to require refutation. But having in this way adopted the notion that civilization, after reaching the point which it has now attained in Christendom, could not possibly decline, some persons have sought and assigned certain positive reasons for this belief. It has been said, for example, that the art of printing must forever secure to us the knowledge, and of course the power and prosperity which we now possess. But those who urge this argument forget, that it is not the loss of the arts which occasions the decline of nations, but the decline of nations which occasions the loss of the arts. Subject the United States to a government like that of Turkey, and the art of printing would be extinct among us in fifty years. Establish in Turkey the political constitution of the United States, and within the same period the empire would be covered with booksellers' shops, and inundated with newspapers. The Chinese possess the art of printing as well as we;—nay, they possessed more than a thousand years ago the last of our improvements in that line, that of stereotype plates, which are the only types in use among them. Their system of characters is perhaps in theory more perfect than ours. But the art of printing, with all the perfection to which they have carried it, has not prevented them from declining in civilization, after they had reached their period of maturity. We are told again, that the superior correctness of our political principles, and the excellence of our forms of government, will secure us against the fate that has befallen our predecessors. But it should be kept in mind, that the real excellence of all political institutions lies in their conformity to the character and condition of the people; and that, if these undergo an unfavorable change, the very same forms, that were before elements of strength and prosperity, become the fatal sources of weakness and destruction. It is lastly affirmed, that we enjoy in the religion of the Gospel a singular distinction, which will secure us forever from the danger of political decline. But if the possession of Christianity, in the pure and perfect shape in which it was preached by Christ and his apostles, did not prevent the decay of civilization in Ancient Europe,—did not prevent the utter ruin, within half a century, of the city in which it had its origin, and, within three or four centuries, of the Roman empire by which it was adopted,—how can we expect, that it should be

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with us a sure guarantee of unalterable worldly prosperity? The Divine Author of this religion, in fact, declared, that his kingdom was not of this world. However pride and patriotism may lead us to indulge in sanguine calculations of the prosperous and brilliant destinies that appear to be reserved for the communities to which we belong, it would be useless and puerile to pretend to disguise from ourselves and others, that they are still communities of men, that they are subject to the common law of humanity, and will pass with more or less rapidity through the same successive periods of development, maturity, and decline, that have made up the history of all the rest.

All experience, therefore, concurs with reason and religion in assuring us, that there are limits fixed by the physical and moral laws of our nature, beyond which improvement, whether in the case of individuals or communities, cannot be carried. Within the limits marked out by these laws, its possible progress may be said to be indefinite. This view of the condition of humanity will not, we trust, be considered as in any respect gloomy or discouraging. It leaves open, in fact, to the generous and patriotic citizen, a field of exertion as wide as the loftiest ambition needs to wish. Although analogy may perhaps suggest the sober reflection, that the long lapse of four thousand years, of which we possess the record, has probably exhausted almost all the possible combinations of circumstances, and that there is little reason to expect hereafter any better results than the best that have occurred already, we are yet at liberty, without elevating our hopes beyond the line of practicable improvement, to aim at greater attainments than those that have illustrated the most celebrated names of ancient and modern times. The young enthusiast may dream of an eloquence superior to that of Cicero or Burke,—sublimer strains of poetry than those of Homer or Milton,—a deeper philosophy than that of Aristotle or Bacon,—a purer virtue than that of Washington. The ardent patriot may hope and believe that his country, under the influence of wiser institutions and happier circumstances, may attain a height of civilization as much superior to any that has yet been reached in any other part of the world, as the present condition of Europe and the United States is to that of the degraded inhabitants of Southern Africa, or the aboriginal natives of our own continent. All this we may hope and aspire to for ourselves and our country, without aiming at attain-

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ments beyond the limits of practicable improvement, as we have attempted to define it,—and if all this do not satisfy us, it must be owned, that our ambition is not very moderate. And if the view, here presented, cuts off the visionary prospect of complete perfection,—the belief of which could only lead to delusion and practical abuse,—it concurs, on the other hand, with the conclusions of reason, the suggestions of feeling and the promises of Scripture, in confirming our assurance of a pure and happy immortality hereafter.

We have thus endeavored to explain, though in an imperfect and summary way, the nature of the laws that regulate the progress and determine the limits of the improvement of society. It is, as we remarked at the outset, of high practical importance,—particularly in a community which, like ours, is actually in a state of rapid progress,—that the prevalent views on this subject should be of a correct and rational character. Loose and exaggerated expectations naturally generate fantastic schemes, which can only end in disappointment, and inflated forms of expression, which expose us to the ridicule of foreigners; while they also tend, on the other hand, by the effect of reaction, to discourage the efforts that would otherwise be made in a judicious and practical way. There is the less reason for us in this country to indulge in delusive visions of ideal and impossible improvement, inasmuch as we have before us, in the prospects that are really held out by the actual situation of the United States, as ample a field for useful exertion and flattering hope, as the most active and enthusiastic patriot needs to wish.

We shall conclude this article by pointing out some of the principal circumstances in our situation, which render it probable that, within the limits assigned by the moral and physical laws of our nature, and the uniform experience of the world, we are destined to make as rapid a progress, and to attain as high a point of civilization, as the most favored communities of ancient and modern times.

1. The first ground of high, and at the same time perfectly rational hope on this subject, is founded on the great recent improvements in the physical sciences, and their application to the arts. These constitute, as we have already remarked, the peculiar distinction, and only incontestible title of superiority that belongs to the modern world; and they are probably destined to exercise a most favorable influence on its future con-

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dition, especially in this country. The immediate effect of such improvements is to increase the productiveness of labor, and of course to render its products proportionally cheap and abundant. In this way, the material comforts of life are rendered accessible to a much larger number of persons than before. The increased facility for obtaining the material comforts of life carries with it additional opportunities and facilities for intellectual and moral culture. Now the principle of the most important change for the better which we can imagine in the present condition of society, lies precisely in the extension, to a much larger number of persons, of the facilities for the material enjoyments of life, and for moral and intellectual culture, which have hitherto belonged to comparatively few individuals. The most astonishing results have already been realized in this way in some departments, particularly that of communicating information and instruction by the process of reading. To say precisely how much the productiveness of the labor formerly employed in copying manuscripts has been increased by the invention of the press, would be difficult, but to state it at a million times would probably be a very low calculation. Libraries, that would formerly have been considered treasures fit only for princes, are now within the reach of individuals of moderate fortunes, and of village societies. The more recent improvements in some of the other applications of labor are hardly less remarkable. The invention of the power loom and steam engine, with the supplementary machinery which comes in aid of them, has done nearly or quite as much to increase the productiveness of the labor employed in the manufacture of most of the objects necessary to the material comforts of life, as that of the press did for the dissemination of knowledge through the medium of books. Its practical result ought to, and under circumstances otherwise favorable, must in the end be to render the use of these objects much more general than it has hitherto been in any community. These results are not yet fully realized either abroad or among ourselves, and there is perhaps no point towards which the efforts of benevolent individuals or associations can be directed with better effect, than that of enabling the poorer classes to obtain all the advantages in the way of food, clothing, and comfortable habitations, which the great discoveries alluded to are capable of affording them. Having noticed, at the beginning of this article, the wild speculations of Mr. Owen on the general question of the improvement of society, it is per-

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haps but justice to him to remark here, that his views in regard to the extension of the advantages derivable from the modern improvements in the arts to the poorer classes of people, are of a far more judicious and practical character, and may be consulted with advantage by those who take an interest in the subject.

2. Another strong ground for a high, and at the same time rational hope of the rapid advancement of civilization in this country, is founded in the free and popular character of our political institutions. In many parts of the world, which are equally with us, or perhaps to a greater extent, in possession of the last and most valuable improvements in physical science, —the political constitution of society is such, that the whole power and wealth of the community, with the means of material enjoyment and intellectual culture which they carry with them, are concentrated in the hands of a very few persons, and that the mass of the people have no real assurance of retaining and enjoying the fruits of their labor. Under these circumstances, it is obviously of no importance to them, whether the labor, of which they are not to enjoy the fruits, is more or less productive. Their only effort is to work as little as they can, and the advantages resulting from improvements in science, and their application to the arts, are hardly felt. With us, on the contrary, where every individual is completely protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor, every augmentation of their amount operates as an equal addition to the wealth and happiness of the mass of the people, and they will of course seize with avidity the opportunity afforded by any increase in the productiveness of labor for realizing such an addition. The advantages resulting from improvements in science will of course be diffused very generally, and with great rapidity, and the condition of the body of the people must assume in the end an entirely different aspect, as respects the comforts of life and the state of intellectual and moral culture, from that which it wears under institutions of a different character. On the other hand, the same genial influence of freedom, which diffuses security, comfort and intelligence through the body of the people, opens to the few gifted and lofty spirits who choose to enter on it, the field of honorable distinction, in every department of public and private life, upon much more inviting terms than can possibly be offered in other differently constituted communities, and thus encourages the progress of civilization in both its great constituent branches, one

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of which consists in the well-being and intelligence of the people at large, and the other in the high attainments of the smaller number of superior minds who are fitted, by original powers and peculiar advantages of education, to give a direction to the thoughts and labors of the rest.

While therefore we retain in their purity our present political insututions, we are morally certain of continuing to make a regular and rapid progress in improvement; and should they be destined to a long term of existence, we have every reason to hope and expect, that we shall attain under their influence a higher degree of civilization than has yet been reached in any other country. Every thing depends, therefore, on the durability of these institutions; and while the most sanguine patriots will readily admit that they are still of too recent construction to be regarded as completely out of danger, it is nevertheless cheering to reflect, that we have all the securities for their stability and permanence, which the nature of the case would easily admit.

We are sure, in the first place, that our institutions are not the mere forms of free government, which are often united with the substance of tyranny; but rest on foundations which are laid broad and deep in the state of the community. When the diffusion of property and intellectual and moral culture keeps pace with that of political rights, as is the case with us, it is certain that the government has all the stability which belongs to its character, and can only be shaken by changes in the condition of the people, or by its own essential impracticability.

Again: we are in a great degree secured by our favorable geographical position and extent of territory, from the accidental danger of foreign invasion, and sudden domestic convulsions, which have proved fatal to the peace and prosperity of so many free states. The vast ocean, which intervenes between us and the ancient continent, has always been and will continue to be a perpetual wall of defence against hostile inroads from abroad; while the large extent of our territory, which has sometimes been regarded as one of our dangers, furnishes the best protection we could possibly have against the occurrence of violent political convulsions at home. When the body politic is bounded by the walls of a single city or by the borders of a narrow territory, the slightest accidental circumstance, —a single burst of popular feeling,—the restless ambition of a single aspiring citizen, may overturn the government. But

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when the action proceeds, as with us, on a theatre extending over a whole vast continent, and is conducted by ten or twelve millions of independent actors, the partial and local effect of sudden movements and single characters is lost in the general result, which is determined entirely by the operation of general causes. The great elemental principles of TIME and SPACE are therefore, under Providence, allied with us against all our enemies, foreign and domestic. Our case will be tried in the court of experience, on its merits, whatever they may be; and if there be any danger of failure, it can only arise from the utter impracticability of a purely democratic constitution on the scale on which we have attempted it, although tried under every accidental advantage, and with the aid of important improvements in political science, which had never been applied to practice before.

On this vital question,—the essential practicability of our institutions,—it becomes us of course to speak with the serious hope that leads to active and persevering exertion, rather than with the vain confidence that inspires an idle security; but we have yet a right to point, with modest assurance, to the favorable experience of two centuries, during which our institutions have been gradually and constantly developing themselves, and acquiring new degrees of consistency and vigor, as an encouraging guarantee of their future destiny. We know, at the same time, that the success of the grand experiment we are making in the science of government, will depend entirely on the vigor and fidelity with which each successive generation perform their part in guarding and transmitting to posterity the invaluable treasure which they have received from their own predecessors. Every effort we make for the diffusion of knowledge, and for the extension of the influence of morality and Religion, besides the immediate advantages which it is intended and fitted to produce to ourselves and our contemporaries, brightens the prospects of the country, and will improve the condition of our children and their descendants for centuries to come. From such efforts, the blessing of Providence is never withheld; and should they be generally made and perseveringly continued, so as to give a character to the moral aspect of the people, the success of our experiment is certain; and we shall pass through a course of national existence, as long, as brilliant and as fortunate as the transitory nature of human affairs will permit.

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